

PAKISTAN X-RAYED

Edited by
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Of all religions the best is,  
The Practice of the Name with purity of conduct.  
Of all the rites the best is,  
To Purge one's heart of filth and evil tendencies by  
association with those who have disciplined themselves  
Of all devotional practices the best is,  
The constant application of the heart to the Name.  
Of all sacred tests the most sacred is,  
That by which one hears the praise of God and  
utters it to others.  
Of all PAKISTANS the holiest is,  
Where one feels Stir of the Name in one's heart.



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*To*

**Dr. Syud Hussain**

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## A London Muslim Speaks

# PAKISTAN UNDER X-RAY

(By Chowdry Akbar Khan, London)

ALL the religions of the world have served a useful purpose in their respective places and times. The basic principles of them all amounted to the same thing; and the ultimate object of one and all was the betterment and the uplift of humanity, morally and spiritually. To avoid evil and do good is the essence of all. That, in truth, is the religion of man.

But as time went in its unending onward march the good things common to all the creeds were ignored not only by the followers of any one religion but by those of all. Instead they were prone to pick up the insignificant, unimportant peculiarities of little value, which were their mark of distinction from one another, attached to them greatest importance and sharpness; so that in time those superfluities became unalterable set dogmas. Ignoring the basic principles, in the end, the rigidity of their character lent them the character of religion.

Religion (as it to-day is), perverted, pseudo-religion, is a stumbling-block. It hinders progress. Without question one must believe what it says, and accept it at its face value. Thus it petrifies the critical sense. Argument might drift one to the verge of heresy. An orthodox religious-minded person is, thereby, deprived of forming any accurate opinion about anything.

Had not the Pope forbidden his followers to attend the Moorish universities of Cordova and Granada? But the Christian students of Europe unheeded the warning, and at the risk of excommunication flocked to the Muslim institutions in search of knowledge. Had Europe not revolted against the damaging, inelastic, hatred-fostering utterances from the holy lips, Europe would not have been the Europe of to-day.

Some intelligent, very able scholars and genius of the Muslim world, who would exact credit from anybody by any standard, were condemned by their Muslim brothers as heretics!

Some were even stoned to death just because they were rationalists and free thinkers

Would it behove a divine religion (Christianity) to foster and send Crusades and keep the process continued for scores of years merely to wrest a place from another people at the cost of thousands of human lives? Would sanity allow that a piece of land be made an excuse for horrible blood shed Was the oil and a few bricks in Jerusalem really more valuable and more sacred near God and or man than the lives of the martyred human beings of both sides God's best creation

Religion has often had a stronghold on the minds of the people Just because his religion enjoins a certain thing right ly or wrongly must its follower adhere to it blindly Just because a certain person or tribe or nation belongs to his faith must one find it his most sacred duty to uphold his co religionist for any cause just or unjust

Religion is a useful thing but wrong conception of religion divides loyalty and that is most harmful to the nationhood of a country It is mostly and especially so in the case of a nation, which is dominated by a foreign people

## IMPERIALISTIC HOAXES

Gone are the days when Akbar cradled his fancy and toyed with the fruitless discussions between the heads of different faiths gone are the days when Aurangzeb used the Hindu Rajput forces against their Hindu brothers and countrymen as well as against his own Muslim brothers gone are the days when Haroun al Rashid concluded a treaty of amity and alliance with Charlemagne against the Cordova caliphate gone are the days when Salah ud Din withstood the combined crusading might of the whole European Christendom and gone also are the days when Islamic theocracy moulded the world into its thought and changed the life of the nations and gave them its own pattern It was a dynamic force which having run its destined course spent itself in the ocean of time

But to day the majority of the Muslims in general is a simple credulous people Their mind is deep set in a religious mould They believe that Faith is the sole guide in all their problems of their present as well as the next life From the very childhood the Muslim is instructed to believe and look up to all the religious traditions and writings so that he has no

scope left for an independent and free thinking. This rigidity has left him like a stagnant pool that breeds germs of self-destruction

Knowing well the psychology of the Muslim, when invading Egypt, Napoleon declared himself a Muslim. He succeeded in his object. He captured Egypt. What would have cost him hundreds of French lives. Napoleon achieved by a slight hypocritical twist of his tongue. During the last Great War it was rumoured in India that the Kaiser had turned Muslim. It was an unbounded joy to the Muslims, and as such, they would have fain welcomed him to India, not giving a slightest thought to the fact that Wilhelm II would have enslaved the Indian people to the chariot of a similar, perhaps worse, imperialism to which they were already accustomed under the British rule

At the start of the present-day war the Nazis, to win the Arab support compared the principles of the Nazi ideology to those of the Koran, and essayed to show that both were one and the same thing. To counter this propaganda the British at the same time cried hoarse that Islam was a perfect model of democracy, to champion the very cause for which Britain had taken up arms, and willingly come into the field. Both were wrong, both knew the weakness and credulity of the Faithful and as such appealed to him on his own ground

When Muslims happen to be weak, weak spiritually, financially, socially culturally, apparently, politically, militarily, what reason on earth is there for a person, the member of one of the most advanced, civilised and imperialist powers, to adopt Islam? Obviously such persons must have had some selfish object in their mind and some cherished hope in their innermost heart, maybe an inspiration to the leadership in the Islamic world.

At the end of the last war it was suggested that the late Lord Headly should be offered the Crown of the Muslim Albania. About 1934 there occurred an uprising in Chinese Turkestan. The British papers reported at the time that Shelderick had been offered the Crown of Sinkiang, but he refused. Mr. Philby, an adviser to King Ibn Saud, traversed the Ruba al Khali (Empty Quarter) from the Aden hinterland to the Persian Gulf. Since that event that part of Arabia has been marked red—sign of British possession.

### PLAYING ON CREDULITY

On the occasion of the opening of the East London Mosque, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India had been invited as



guest of honour. He is seen in the middle of a photographic picture reproduced in the report by the side of which are printed the following words

The Rt Hon L S Amery Secretary of State for India during his informal visit to the East London Mosque on 7th August 1941. He created great enthusiasm by reciting the Surat al Fatiah correctly from beginning to end

My Muslim brothers brimming with joy and jubilation thought to recite a verse from the Holy Book for Mr Amery as if a miracle was being worked or a revelation was taking place. They should have had more cause to be proud to see an uneducated Indian Muslim or a Negro reciting the verse rather than the learned Mr Amery a linguist who to win the Muslim support had gladly accepted to pay the visit in the service and interest of his country. What a simplicity!

The control of the London Mosque Fund a purely Muslim affair has been in the hands of a mixed lot of Muslims and non Muslims, the latter of course being Englishmen. Either able Muslims cannot be found for the job or perhaps they are not considered to be the men of trust to take their place on the Trust, or even they are helpless in the matter the controlling switch being in un Muslim hands

Whether Protestant Catholic Muslim or Atheist an Englishman after all remains an Englishman. Anywhere on the face of the earth but he will at any opportunity available do service to his mother country subordinating his personal interests to those of his community. To further and promote British interests is his foremost aim. My country first everything after a sign of any living nation! Fine. I wish and hope that the Indian Muslims learn a lesson from this

Flushed with religious fanaticism some of the half baked Muslims would unknowingly sometimes indulge in irresponsible talk that the Muslims do not belong to any one country the whole world is their home. That is a most damaging utterance. There is only one community in the world to which no country belongs but it belongs to all. And they are the Jew. They have no home of their own but being scattered all over the globe all the world (?) is theirs. But are Jews satisfied and happy or do they take any pride in it? The course of wandering seems to have

stayed on them. They are sparing no effort whatsoever to get Palestine recognised as their national home. How many Muslims would then wish to play the unenviable role of the oftpersecuted Jew? Having not ONE home they will have NONE. They are being tossed about on the rough sea of local nationalisms, and the ship of their communal existence has always been at the vagaries of the everchanging political atmosphere.

## PAKISTAN EXAMINED

Mr Rahmat Ali, the founder of the Pakistan movement, has given no reasons to implement his case. He knows all the time he is not treading on the firm ground. He sadly lacks arguments, because there is not any. All the time he takes pains to impress upon the mind of the reader his gospel that there are two nations in India—Muslim and Hindu; and, therefore, they should be separated and the country partitioned as such. He is throughout begging the question, and invoking some invisible aid and basing his authority on only the difference of faith. He has taken advantage of the weakness in man *i.e.* not to question wherever the name of religion is invoked, but to accept it as bonafide.

Mr. Rahmat Ali has no solid ground to stand on: he has no argument to support his theory, but that there are two nations—Hindu and Muslim—in India, based on religious ground. A weak argument. Supposing all the Hindus became converts to Islam or 'vice versa', would he consider them two nations? If nationality depends on religion, then the sub-continent of India would have not only two (as Pakistanis aver), but several nations inhabiting the country. There are, besides Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Budhists, Christians, Animists, etc., all claiming their share in the partitioning of India in the form of Sikhistan, Parsitan, Buddhistan, Christianistan. 'ad infinitum.'

Because British and French Canadians differ in creed, race, culture, customs and language, are they supposed to be two nations, and as such is Canada to be split up into two political units? There are the Boers and the Anglo-Saxons in the Union of South Africa. Do they not consider themselves as one nation? Would Albania's one million people be prepared to carve two states, Muslim and Christian, out of their tiny country and commit suicide? Would this proposal meet approval that Palestine, as was planned some time ago, be divided between three parties—Jews, Arabs and British—

and the Jewish and the Arab principalities to be separated by a corridor (Faranagastan) under the British policeman. to keep both apart and never to let them fraternise so that his own position over there remain assured ?

The Chinese Muslim (60 millions) do not demand any Chinese Pakistan On grounds of religion race language and history the Armenians have a strong claim to get themselves recognised as a separate state from Turkey but would the Muslims favour it? The Yugoslav Muslims have no desire to ask for a different status

### INDO BRITISH BABY

Mr Jinnah the leader of the Muslim League at one time frowned upon the idea of Pakistan Having no programme or plan of his own for the liberation of India and merely following his mule headed policy of obstructing the activities of the progressive elements in the country to gain his selfish ends he has recently adopted the Indo-British baby of Pakistan born and nourished at Cambridge and exported to India on lend lease basis for the recognition of which he is prepared to pay a high price by allowing the British to keep foot hold as policeman thereby perpetuating their rule He is equally negative and abstract in any constructive work His tactics are merely destructive He is exploiting the religious mindedness of the people to uphold the interests of the land lords commerce job hunters and the princes His is the dog in the manager policy

With this background myth of Pakistan may he explored dealt with and shattered with the force of facts

### DEFINITION OF NATION

What is a Nation? Any people however heterogeneous living in a certain area marked by definite frontiers of a fairly long standing in point of time and having withstood the onslaught of the vicissitudes of fortune to appreciable change deserves to be called a Nation Different races may inhabit the same country different creeds may be found in the same territory different languages may be spoken within the same frontiers different cultures may exist side by side but all that does not alter the nationhood of a country Notwithstanding any or all these differences a nation remains a nation The members of a race may be found in far flung regions the

followers of a faith may be found in different countries, and as such they have not any interests in common. But in the case of a nation, however mixed its composition, all the members of it, irrespective of any differences, race, creed, etc., have common interests political, economical, cultural and social.

Purity of blood may be lost. race may get mixed. religion may be changed (a matter of will), but nation endures

Geographically India is the only country in the world, which has set natural barriers of appreciable size. Fringed by the highest mountains in the north, stretching to north-east and north-west, covered by a huge ocean on the west, south and south-east, India is a land that is unique in character. From times immemorial this land has remained one. Invaders came, invaders went. Tribes swept from the north-west, but India has stayed one entity, and has seldom lost its integrity. The unit as it is, this region is gifted with a strong natural defence.

Since ancient times, since the authentic history comes to be recorded, India has remained one whole, an indivisible whole.

True, there have been more than one independent states existing side by side at one time or another, but India just the same has always been considered as one country. Asoka ruled from the Oxus to the Cape Comorin, even in Chandragupta's time Afghanistan had been ceded to him by Seleukus Nikator on his defeat by the former. The Kushan kingdom extended from the Hindukush to the heart of India, as much as the later White Hun territory. During the time of the Ghaznavids and the Ghoris, political unity remained intact. For a brief period Afghanistan became separated until that province was reunited to the parent land by Babar. In the time of Aurangzeb the empire extended from Kandahar to Arakan, and from the Oxus to the far south of India. It was in 1738 that Nadir Shah tore away Afghanistan from the Mughal Empire, and was completely alienated when in 1747 Ahmad Shah carved the present kingdom of Afghanistan, which could hardly have existed as it is now, but for the annual subsidies paid to the Afghan Government by the British from the Indian Exchequer.

## RACIALLY ONE

Racially the Hindus and the Muslims belong to the same stocks. 99% of the Muslims of India are converts from Hinduism. Only 1% are the descendants of the foreign Muslim immigrants.

The Rajputs the Gujars and the Jats in the Northern India are Hindu as well as Muslim and a section of the Jats even Sikh

Half of the people of Bengal believe in the Vedas and the other half in the Koran. But the mere difference in creed can on no reasonable ground claim a divine authority to impose upon them verdict of different nationalities. A family in a village may have its members professing the two faiths in question but that does not mean that the family be considered members of two nations. There is an appreciable minority of the Christian converts. Can they claim a separate nationality of their own? The theory that because the Muslims have a religion differing from the Hindus they are entitled to claim a separate nationality of their own right falls flat on the ground of realism. To believe it would be living in a fool's paradise.

Culturally India is one. From the Pamirs to Ceylon from the Kuchh to Imphal basically the same culture meets the eye. When Shankaracharya led a crusade against Buddhism it swept the whole of India and the mother of Pacifism was banished from India as a whole. When Muslim culture was introduced into India it penetrated all over so that a mild graft came to be laid on the old Hindu one.

After all what was and or is this Muslim culture? Either it was Persian or Arabic. Apart from purely religious matters this foreign culture was mostly Indian in origin. During the Abbasid times Hindu scholars were employed by the caliphs in the hospitals and the universities of Bagdad who taught and translated the Sanskrit books on various subjects including astronomy astrology medicine arithmetic into Arabic. Arab students travelled to India in search of knowledge and not in vain. Most of the Persian books were translated into Arabic which had originally been translated from Sanskrit.

### LINGUA FRANCA

There has been some controversy over the use of a common language in India. Ultra Hindus have insisted upon the use of Hindi, ultra Muslims have emphasised upon the importance of Urdu. Let us anatomise Urdu. Hindi becomes Urdu when Arabic and Persian words, often the latter are added to it without any limit, limited only if ever by the capacity of the writer possessing the stock of the vocabulary he has at his command of those two languages. Urdu is not a spoken language nor will it ever be.

To-day's 'lingua franca' is Hindustani a simple language, fusion of simple and acceptable Persian and some Arabic words into Hindi, as spoken by the man in the street in Delhi and Lucknow. It is more or less understood all over the country. Why to insist upon thrusting hard, repulsive and unacceptable foreign words. After all, what is Persian is a sister language of Sanskrit. If Sanskrit words are repugnant to the Muslims, Persian should be equally repulsive. If one is to be acceptable, the other should be likewise tolerable.

Take and digest foreign words by all means—Persian, Arabic, English, etc—but they should fit into the language to make it richer. And the acid test of acceptance or rejection of such words is the man in the street, not the learned few.

A section of the Hindus has also lately shown antagonism, and has drifted away from reason by deliberately inserting unwanted Sanskrit words into Hindustani, and also preferring Hindi to Hindustani. Anyway religion does not matter in this respect. Hindus as well as Muslims both speak the same provincial language as their mothertongue in the provinces in which they happen to live side by side. That is the case all over India.

Problem of alphabet is unsolved. Hindus prefer Nagari Character; Muslims Arabic. Besides, there are several others in the country. All have been, without any exception, devised by man. To lighten the burden from the mind of the school-child, why not accept one, any one. At the suggestion of the European travellers and hangers on, Emperor Akbar fancied adopting Latin character, because of its affording facility in printing, but the hostility of the orthodox Muslim calligraphers had the idea scotched in the bud. Had the scheme gone through there would have been enough books printed as to be within the reach of the common man. May be the learned few did not countenance any interference in their monopoly of learning. In our own time Kemal Pasha broke the traditional prejudice in 1929. He abolished Arabic alphabet, and substituted Latin instead. Have we not adopted, whether we like it or not, Western calendar?

### PAKISTAN SCHEME

The Pakistan movement lays emphasis upon its claim being extended to 3 separate blocks of territories inside India —

(1) Pakistan, including North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind, Punjab, Beluchistan.

- (2) Bang : Islam : e Bengal Assam
- (3) Usmania : e Haiderabad (Deccan)

Haiderabad State has about 90% Hindu population. But its claim to be regarded as a Muslim province is based upon its being associated with its Muslim ruler. What a flimsy argument! On the same ground why would the Pakistanis not agree to the 90% Muslim Kashmir state to be left out of Pakistan because it is being ruled by a Hindu family. If therefore Kashmir is to be included in Pakistan due to its Muslim population Haiderabad should then be left to the Hindus because of its Hindu population. Usmania thus is out of the question and needs no further discussion.

In No 2 (Bang : Islam) Muslims and Hindus are in the proportion of 60 to 40 respectively both of them inhabit mostly two contiguous areas. The Muslims are found in Eastern Bengal and Assam the Hindus in the Western Bengal. If ever the proposed partition matured and did take place Bang : Islam will not be Bengal and Assam but only Eastern Bengal and the Muslim part of Assam. This scheme would not meet popular approval and is bound to failure as Lord Curzon's partitioning of Bengal met its violent death.

In Pakistan proper (Dinger No 1) the Punjab betrays its weakness. North east to South east of the province is mostly peopled by non Muslims. The population of the districts south of the Ravi with Chamba Lahul Jammu Laddakh, etc. is almost all of it Hindu and would therefore be likely to join the Hindu India. The western half of the Muslim half of the province (i.e. north of the Ravi) with N W F Province Sind Bhawalpur and Beluchistan is semi-desert. Only Kashmir and the eastern part of the Muslim districts are fertile. Yes there are salt and coal mines. But on the whole this stronghold of Pakistan will be a poor weak state. On the balance Muslim India if it does have its way will form a weak economic unit, which will have no chance either to become a great power or stand any economic pressure from outside as to day is being brought to bear upon neutrals—Turkey Sweden Portugal Spain Eire—by the Axis and the Allies.

Politically the idea of Pakistan if ever realised will be a deliberate suicide for Indians generally for Muslims in particular. When the Pakistanis of to-day (i.e. Iran Irak Syria) could not stand up to outside pressure is there any ghostly chance of the

unborn baby of the Indo-British conception to stand in equal rank in the comity of nations.

The Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union, with their newly-gained right of secession, have no desire nor any wish to get themselves separated and form their "pakistan". They know, it will be to their disadvantage, and will sooner or later, lead to their being absorbed by some powerful, unscrupulous neighbour. The Muslims of Bosnia would on no account leave their brother Slavs of Yugo-Slavia to create a nominal state of their own. The Muslim amirabes of Abyssinia still owe their loyalty to Christian Haille Salassie.

During the Mughal times the revenue of the three districts (Sialkot, Sheikhupura and Gujrat of to day) of the Punjab was sent to Kabul to keep its administration going. Because of Afghanistan's poverty she cannot aspire to become a powerful country. Rather than partition India into helpless Muslim principalities like Afghanistan, is it not commendable that even the land of the Afghans join Indian political unit of her own free will, and thereby be a part, and share the greatness of that great country!

Abusing the mandate of Muslim leadership when the Ali Brothers gave a verdict of migration (Hijrat) during the Khilafat movement after the last war, Afghanistan, poor as she is could not cope up, with all the best intentions, with the misled migrants who swarmed into Kabul. Consequences were terrible. They underwent hardships and privations, and were forced to retrace their steps to India, miserable, downcast, broken, humiliated, demoralised. It is the persecution of a person or a community that forces them to leave their home and take refuge elsewhere, as the Jews and other political refugees of to-day. The Muslims were unnecessary suppliant guests, hawking the humiliation of their country to a sympathetic but weak government. The followers rallied to the call for exodus the leaders stayed at home. The Faithfuls were left without a Mohammed or a Moses to lead them to the promised land. Had all these leaders left India then and there, there would have been no question of any Pakistan to-day, the country would have been spared division and disunity, and would very likely have won its freedom by now.

Geographically, historically, ethnologically, culturally, philologically, economically and politically and it is apparent



that it is not to the interests of the Muslims of India to demand any partition of India. Does not the British Government feel contented and secure? What were the Cripps proposals but that Jinnah wanted one Pakistan. Cripps offered many. He would soon have created innumerable Ulsters (or ulcers) in the body of India. Hindustan, Pakistan, Nawabistan, Parsistan, Rajastan, Kafiristan, Farangistan, Usmanistan, Sikhistan, Nasranistan, Budaristan—the more the number of stans there will be a better and safer Ghulamistan (i.e. land of slaves) will it make for the British master.

Happily the majority of the Indian Muslims to-day have adopted a realistic attitude towards the problems of their country. They are nationalist and are fighting for the freedom of their motherland side by side with their Hindu brothers. The people of the N.W.F. Province and Sind are Congressite. The Punjab Government ever since the introduction of the Reforms has been a coalition of the Hindu Muslim and Sikh landlords. Most of the Muslim population of Bengal and Assam either belong to the Congress or are pro Congress. The Jamiat ul Ulema (Muslim Divines) is nationalist. The Ahirs and Khudai Khidmatgars are active supporters of the Congress. The Momins and the Shias agree in their aims with the Indian National Congress.

The Moslem League, the only body which is pressing its demand for Pakistan, has a small following (about 20% of Muslim population). It is so cowardly that it has not got any courage to publish its membership, which is indeed meagre and is exclusively landlords and job hunters backed by a few ruling houses.

It has no plan or a programme for the independence of the country. All its tactics are disruptive and destructive. It presents a good though weak propaganda into the hands of the British Government. To stop that no patriotic Indian would hesitate to make an appeal to Mr Jinnah to listen to reason and join the national ranks.

India has always been ONE and will remain ONE. That is her nature. No splitting is possible. Any Pakistan is bound to be a failure. The days of partitions are past. To-day are the times of the federations. Small countries cannot exist of their own. The Nazi steam roller has ground the small States of Europe. It will be to the advantages of India and all the small and weak territories stretching in and from the Pacific to the Red Sea to form a Paci Red Federation on some Socialist line.

American Geologist looks at Pakistan

## SEPARATION MEANS ECONOMIC DISASTER

(By Prof Charles Behre)

Discussions of the future of India usually proceed in political and social terms and often in a vein of prejudice and recrimination. In the course of them it sometimes happens that observers lose sight of fundamental economic realities which are most important for any long-term solution of Indian problems. These material factors are less controversial, deserve far more consideration than they customarily receive. One of them—the presence under the soil of India of rich mineral deposits which in this industrial age are a primary source of national power and, even more significant, of social well-being—should be taken into account by all who wish their opinions on the question of India's political future to be soundly based.

India's mineral deposits will determine in considerable measure her place in the world, and the way in which that wealth is distributed will affect the relationship not only of each part of country to the other parts but also of the country as a whole to the world outside. Moreover, it seems to have been demonstrated by history that any general rise in a country's standard of living affects favourably the relations between the various peoples inhabiting its component parts. As they become better fed and better housed they also become better educated, better informed and more understanding and more tolerant towards each other in spite of racial or religious or other cleavages.

Probably almost every literate person has an opinion on the question of Indian independence. No sensible person not informed at first hand and not compelled by world events to find an immediate answer will propose a categorical solution to the problem of how it might be attained.

The bare facts regarding India's mineral resources and the manner of their distribution suggest conclusions as to her economic strength and her capacity for attaining national self-

sufficiency In particular they suggest conclusions regarding a particular proposal which is highly charged with political and religious feeling—namely that India be divided into two separate States Pakistan and Hindustan one largely Muslim the other mainly Hindu

India exclusive of Burma now is or promises soon to be important in world trade as a source of coal and petroleum iron ore manganese ore chrome ore gold bauxite salt gem stones monazite and certain refractory materials

Industrial power in the modern world is based on the trinity of coal iron and oil Together coal and iron are the foundation for industrialism in our present steel age They are to the development of the machine what oxygen and hydrogen are to the growth of the human body they must be present in combination Oil though also valuable is far less essential in times of peace a state rich in coal can do entirely without oil deposits in exchange in mineral commodities is free Even if it has no oil it may convert its coal to liquid fuel as Germany did Oil is of little direct value in the making of steel and cannot as yet be substituted for coal in the steel industry Coal remains essential

Our first conclusion is apparent India is not abundantly supplied with oil but she possesses large reserves of most important industrial minerals—coal iron several of the ferro alloys which made good steel and the subsidiary minerals in ample quantity to make her a powerful and reasonably self sufficient industrial nation The per capita supply is relatively low in comparison with that of most of the great industrial nations but per capita consumption could be materially raised without seriously endangering reserves of the more essential minerals in the reasonably near future

It is also apparent that India's minerals are so distributed between the parts of India in which Hindu and Muslim people preponderate that if India were divided on the basis of religious population the Hindu state would be rich and the Muslim State would be conspicuously poor This disproportion is sufficiently great so that speaking generally it does not even seem to be cancelled out by differences in population density Not only is this fact of Hindustan's relatively greater mineral wealth true for the present as judged from a comparison of the minerals now produced it will doubtless be an even more striking fact of the

future, as the industrialization of India advances. The significant conclusion as to the question of Pakistan and Hindustan is corollary to this fact.

Hindustan has greater reserves of coal and iron, it has excellent reserves of the most important ferro-alloy metals (though these must be supplemented by the import of others) and of the non-metallic minerals and gold; it has considerable reserves of bauxite and some copper. Pakistan has a small amount of coal and iron, few ferro-alloys; and little bauxite. But Pakistan has as much of the ferro-alloys, other than manganese and chromium, as has Hindustan; it has adequate reserves of the other subsidiary minerals, except magnesite, and it has most of the oil. The leading feature of the complicated picture is, as we have noted, that Muslim Bengal is geologically a continuation of Hindu Bihar and about 90 per cent of India's coal and 92 per cent of her iron would be in Hindustan, the remainder would be in Pakistan, but the grade (and rank) of the latter is relatively poor. Hindustan would have most of the ferro-alloy and subsidiary minerals which complete the requirements of a relatively autonomous industrial realm, yet Pakistan would have some of them. Under conditions of moderate industrialization and with fairly high living standard, India as a whole would have less oil than she needed for her internal combustion engines, most of what she had, would be in Pakistan.

Our second conclusion, in short, is that the Hindu and Muslim areas of India are interdependent. Not only would Hindustan need some of the resources of Pakistan, for industrial life, Pakistan would desperately need great quantities of the resources of Hindustan.

In a closed trade system the Pakistan State of Bengal would, industrially speaking, die. In such a situation one would expect violence. And it is permissible to note that the Muslim State which would thus be strangled would contain the people who are considered more aggressive and warlike than their richer neighbours. The economic position of the Muslim State of Assam, adjoining Bengal on the east, would be also unfavourable. It has no outstanding mineral wealth, petroleum and chrome ore are its only noteworthy mineral resources. In a divided India, then, it would seem to be even more hopelessly situated, economically speaking, than Bengal. Division or no division, there would be little need for change in the economy of the Punjab, Kashmir and Muslim States to the west. They

would remain as they are now pastoral and agricultural economically tributary to Hindustan. A division of India strictly on religious lines would seem to destine all of Pakistan for such a status.

Whether Mr Jinnah accepts this fact or merely postpones consideration of it one cannot quite tell. In an interview with Herbert L. Mathews appearing in the New York Times of September 21, 1942, he remarked that Afghanistan is a poor country but it gets along so does Iraq and that has only a small fraction of the 70 million inhabitants we would have. If we are willing to live sensibly and poorly so long as we have freedom why should the Hindus object? The economy will take care of itself in time. He added to this somewhat cryptic statement the observation that for administrative purposes a corridor could be established between Bengal and the Pakistan States in the west. In the modern political vocabulary the word corridor has come to have ominous overtones.

A possible solution of the confusion resulting from the economically unnatural boundary between Bengal and Bihar might be to redraw the border of the proposed State of Pakistan giving to Bengal the region north of the Ganges and westward to the United Provinces and allotting to Bihar in compensation that part of the present Bengal south of the Ganges. This would be in part justified by the present distribution of the adherents of the two major religions. It would place all the Bengal coal lands of major potentiality under the sovereignty of Bihar. It would reduce but would not remove the great Hindu prong represented by the United Provinces which separates the Muslim Punjab from Muslim Bengal. It would inevitably lead to more marked economic differences to the religious contrasts which already exist between the two factions. On the other hand it would still leave agricultural Pakistan with some resources notably oil which industrial Hindustan needed. Moreover, it might perhaps tend to reduce the sources of conflict by allotting a dominant industrial role to one people and a frankly subordinate one to the other. Is this desirable?

The pressure of industrialization is pressure for unity in India as elsewhere. But does India want industrialism?

In the Democratic Ideals and Reality Sir Halford J. Mackinder refers—a trifle wryly perhaps—to the psychology or ideology of nations by saying that the influence of geographical conditions upon human activities has depended not

merely on the realities as we now know them to be and to have been, but in even greater degress on what men imagine in regard to them" India's mineral resources and her potentialities for industrial well-being are realities. Yet the geologist, like the geographer, must remember that it is not so much the facts as the way men look upon them which largely determine action.

Among the things in the Indian village which it would seem difficult for anyone to overlook from any angle is the poverty. There seems to be fairly general agreement that no approach to the problem of India which does not promise amelioration of the conditions of desperate poverty under which India's millions labour can hold any serious hope of a solution. A possible form of amelioration is certainly the manufacture on a grand scale of consumer goods, whereby price may be lowered and purchasing power increased. Industrialization, if not the trigger by which this happy result can be assured, is at least one means that may be used, once the desirability of it is recognised.

The war has given a tremendous impetus to the process of industrialization of India, and, although the history of industrialism is still in its early chapters there is nothing in the record of man's experience with this unruly genie—sometimes beneficent, sometimes cruel—to suggest that once unloosed it can never be bottled again. India not only has coal and iron for the machine, she has a superabundance of the final resource on which the machine is based manpower. And the distinguishing characteristic of India's immense manpower, at least in Western eyes, is its low per capita consumption, in a word again, its poverty. Given the natural resources, given the manpower, the need for an increase in the standard of living of the people of India, an increasing degree of industrialization of India would seem inevitable.

India's decision as to the terms of her political future will determine whether that advance towards industrialism is relatively easy or difficult. The experience of 'new' and financially weak, South American States bears on India's problem. 'New' nations, in process of industrial development, have customarily paid stiff prices in terms of concessions and franchises, for needed capital, when they have been forced to seek that capital from private 'entrepreneurs'. A united India

would be in a position to command the sympathy and confidence of other governments and to ask for loans under international auspices on some such terms as those for which China will ask. But an India and yet more two Indias using newly won sovereignty to erect tariff walls around the national borders would be a poor economic risk. Possible investors would demand the gambler's percentage.

Once committed to a programme of industrialization India would rapidly find herself confronted with the problem of controlling the programme in the interest of all her people rather than of a few—the familiar task which has agonized Western nations for a century and which of course is already a present component of the Indian situation. Divided into economic fragments India would find this unavoidable issue doubly painful of solution. In a united India the problem would seem to present the spur urging the country to the highest degree of social consciousness which her friends within and outside would wish.

With her coal her iron her manpower India could share Asiatic leadership with China or perhaps assume the outstanding role in the industrial development of Asia. External factors press her toward unity to less than does the logic of her economic resources. Buddhist Burma on her eastern frontier aspires toward nationhood. From Burma India must have nickel tin lead. Economic relations with Burma would be more fruitful for a united India than for a fragmented one. As China develops her own heavy metal industries in association with her coal deposits in the north east near the coast India's iron ore travelling by water will be her most easily transported and least expensive source of supply. The present restrictions of British imperial policy would however have to be removed before this interdevelopment of Chinese and Indian resources could progress.

This report does not pretend to assess the responsibility for the delay in the settlement between India and Great Britain any more than it wishes to belittle the importance to the people of India of their religious value. It notes merely that from the point of view of mineral resources the Hindu and Muslim areas of India intimately intergrown are also interdependent economically. It urges that political interdependence is a wise solution where economic interdependence is so in

timate and so essential. It implies that the Muslim sections of India would have more to lose than the Hindu sections if a separation by states on religious lines were carried out. And it suggests, finally, that the economy of India as a whole is interdependent with that of other parts of Asia.

Chinese leaders have shown statesmanship in recognizing that it is to the advantage of China that her great neighbour on the south be a strong and unified nation. It is likewise to the advantage of Hindus and Muslims within India.



# CHINESE MUSLIMS VIEW PAKISTAN

(By John Kin)

Chinese Muslims who through their wholehearted and unqualified support of China's resistance against Japanese aggression have constituted a significant factor in World War II made a high hurdle jump to the fore of worldwide attention when at a recent meeting in Chungking they decided to step into the League Congress controversy in India. A written appeal addressed to Mr Mohammed Ali Jinnah President of the Indian Muslim League urging him to co-operate with the Indian National Congress was drafted to be signed by General Omar Pai Chung hsi, China's No 1 Mohammedan general and Deputy Chief of-Staff of the Chinese Army in his capacity as President of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation. This decision followed shortly upon a request made by fifty five Americans that President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek should use their good offices to ask the British Government and National Congress of India and other leaders to open new conferences with mutual determination to find a way of action most speedily to bring India into the ranks of our Allies by beginning now a programme of her independence.

General Pai Chung hsi as President of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation truly represents all the Muslims in China and is therefore their rightful spokesman as well as one of the Generalissimo's most trusted men. It is hoped that through this Muslim to Muslim approach the much longed for Congress League accord may be brought to fruition and the way paved for a Roosevelt Chiang mediation of the India Britain issue.

The crux of the matter lies in the separatist policy known as Pakistan supported by the Indian Muslim League. This as first conceived in 193 by Chaudhrie Rahmat Ali Indian Muslim living in England stood for Land of the Pure. Although the common Chinese Muslims may not know from Adam what that means they would certainly shake their heads in disapproval at the idea of creating a separate Muslim state in India which is what Pakistan in plain terms amounts to. That sounds very much like something emanating from Tokyo.

and they have had enough of the stench that every breeze from the Land of Bushido has brought to their nostrils. For more than five years they have fought against the Japanese string-pulling for the formation of a "hui hui state" in China. As a matter of fact these intrigues have only served to fire the devotion of the hui hui, or Chinese Muslims, to their native land.

General Pai Chung-hsi, in communication with the President of the Indian Muslim League, would naturally take every care not to commit himself to any open criticism of 'Pakistan'. But it would be insulting Mr Jinnah's intelligence to assume that he could fail to read between the lines the obvious Chinese disapproval of that idea. General Pai has on numerous occasions emphasized the idea that the Chinese Muslims are part and parcel of China—neither a distinct racial unit, nor even a political party, but a religious and cultural group with much to contribute to the general welfare. In politics, they believe in the Three People's Principles underlying Chinese democracy just like the rest of the Chinese people. The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation has as its two-fold objective the salvation of the nation and the propagation of Islam, but for the present the nation comes first. There can be no religious freedom to speak of when the freedom of the nation is not assured. In fact the policy of the Federation, as General Pai conceives it, is diametrically opposed to that of the Indian Muslim League.

The Federation's decision to appeal for co-operation between the Indian Muslim League and the National Congress was reached after considerable discussion, culminating in a meeting at which the recently recalled Indian Agent-General Sir Zafrulla Khan, was present by special invitation. This gave him one of his opportunities to learn the mind of China and at the same time to interpret to China the mind of India," as he stated in a farewell message issued on the eve of his departure.

While interpreting the mind of India at that gathering of Chinese, the Mohammedan leader, Sir Zafrulla revealed himself as a strong advocate of 'Pakistan'. He was at once bombarded with questions. One of these questions pointed sharply to the sheer infeasibility of the idea of a separate Muslim state in India. Out of all the Provinces in India, it was pointed out, the only two in which Muslims

and Mr Isa Yusuf. The only Muslim in the People's Political Council with its 240 members is Mr Muhammad Chen Chinyu former chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce in Hankow. It is evident that the Chinese Muslims who hoast 45 000 000 out of 450 000 000 population in China—a ratio of one to ten—do not hold a per quota representation in any department of the Chinese Government as at present constituted.

Nevertheless in the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation which was organized in Hankow early in 1938 mainly through the instrumentality of Genetal Pai Chung hsi they are now finding an outlet for their energy and patriotism. To day with headquarters in Chungking the Federation has branches in 17 Free China provinces and 256 country agencies. So if there is any one organization in China best qualified to deal with the much publicized controvercy between the Indian Muslim League and the Indian National Congress it is this representative organ of the 45 000 000 Chinese Muslims—Asia

As an American woman sees it :

## PEAK OF BRITISH-JINNAH INTERPLAY

(By Mrs. Frances Gunther)

In 1938, John Gunther and I spent a three-hour lunch with Mr Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, asking for a concrete example of a Muslim grievance against the Indian Congress, he could not offer a single one

In 1940 Sir Stafford Cripps asked Jinnah the same question: Jinnah was now prepared. He gave Cripps one grievance. Cripps made a point of personally investigating the case, and as reported later in New York, found "nothing of any substance at all." Yet in September 1942 Herbert Mathews reports to the N. Y. "Times" from New Delhi that Muslim leaders (he does not quote Jinnah) now tell him that they have been through hell.

Jinnah is an extremely shrewd and astute lawyer, once a good fighting member of the Indian Congress, whose private ambitions found wider scope in the opportunities offered by the British than in the self-sacrificial Congress movement. But he too for all his pan-Islam talk, is a good Indian nationalist and patriot. If the British are playing with him, he is playing with them also.

"Pakistan" the imaginary name for two imaginary separate Muslim States in India, is the peak of the British-Jinnah interplay. The rest of India would lie like a gigantic Polish corridor, between them. So far, responsible Muslim opinion has repudiated 'Pakistan' but the plan, if carried through would lead to the Balkanisation of India, and to unending civil war.

What has been the Congress attitude on this English-Hindu-Muslim problem? Congress believes that whatever tension actually exists between Hindus and Muslims is due to poverty and economic mal-adjustment and not to religion.

To the Congress, the Muslims are not a minority, they are 'brother Indians.' Yet every conceivable guarantee of equality

for all nationals regardless of creed has been made by the Indian Congress

The Congress has also agreed to refer any disputed points to arbitration to the International Court or any other impartial body mutually agreed upon. But the Congress has insisted in the words of Nehru that nothing can be accepted which goes against Indian freedom or democracy or disrupts India nor can a minority be allowed to dominate or override the majority. After all the majority has some rights.

It is precisely on this last point however the rights of the majority that England has put her foot down.

This brings us the problem of the United Nations in India.

On the one hand there is the British Empire (still pursuing a 19th century imperialist policy) the satellite Netherlands Empire and the smaller nations of Europe and Western Hemisphere which have not yet made their power felt in international relations. On the other hand there are Russia and China numerically and geographically the most powerful members of the United Nations.

Anybody with an inkling of Anglo Russian and Anglo-Chinese relations of the past 150 years must realize that the elimination of English domination from India is and will remain a vital factor in the national policies of both Russia and China.

Where does the United States stand in India—we who have with commendable if somewhat brash and noisy bravado undertaken the leadership of the United Nations? This brings us back to our basic question. Are we for the Indian Revolution—or against it?

There is no original sin in the birth of a revolution—sin comes later just as the French Revolution tried to bring forth political democracy and the Russian Revolution is trying to bring forth a kind of psychological democracy in which a reasoning goodwill may create a livable balance between the conflicting centripetal forces of politics and economics.

The Indian Revolution is the first entirely above ground revolution in history that has undeviatingly followed a policy of using wholly humanitarian means to achieve its ends—a revolution in which the means were held to be as important as the end—a revolution without hate without terror without a spy system without treachery without assassination—a revolution in which all the habitual weapons of revolution were ruled out.

a revolution in which the end is to be a mutual renunciation of dominating power and mutual assumption of co-operating good-will

“ But why don't they wait until after the war?” Why? Because ‘they’ have no confidence in the English Government, no confidence in its capacity to create a just peace after the war and worse no confidence in its capacity to conduct the war now. More reasons

The administrative record of the English Government after 150 years' of absolute rule. It has granted unto India a 90 per cent illiteracy (Japan is only 20 per cent illiterate the Philippines only 40 per cent, a life span of 25 years (in England 60 years, in U S 63 years), an annual income of 15 dollars (in Japan three times as high, in England 10 times as high, in U.S. 23 times as high) 3 dollars per capital annually spent on education (in England about 200 dollars, in U S about 400 dollars)—all this in one of the greatest and most richly endowed countries on earth. Nothing, they believe, could be worse—no, not even the Japs!

They believe that they themselves could do infinitely better for themselves. They do not hate the English. They feel sorry for them, and wish they would go home and take care of England which needs taking care of.

They feel competent to take care of themselves in India

Shall we be responsible for reducing this revolution to the old pattern of terrorism of underground assassination of firebrand civil war?

We can, if you will, attempt to wreck the Indian Revolution—by discovering forged Zinoviev letters, by spreading misunderstandings, by inciting enmity, by sowing discord, by making India feel that our world is against her, by driving her to desperation

What is the Washington position on India as on September 1942? The State Department is said to be about equally divided for and against, with a slight balance for.

But in the White House Harry Hopkins<sup>1</sup> said to have put on the old school tie discarded by most modern Englishmen and to have told the President on Churchill's assurances that England could handle the situation—i.e., ride out the ants in the pants.

Churchillian assurances are not enough Blood tears toil and sweat are not enough Imperialism is not enough Beating the Jap military machine is not enough We must create a situation in which the Japanese military machine could not exist. Such a situation demands a free India no less than a free China as its starting point

It is unlikely but it is barely possible that by making sufficiently heard popular opinion in the United States reinforcing popular opinion in England could influence the English Government to relinquish responsibility to a representative Indian Government with the full co operation of such an Indian Government the United Nations would have no extraneous problems to solve in India and could proceed to the job of winning the war We have nothing to lose but our World War III draft numbers We have our own self respect at the very least to gain





It is important to note that a minority group may not actually be the subject of discrimination injustice and yet it may consider itself the object of such inferior treatment and consequently develop an oppression psychosis. This is entirely a subjective phenomenon concomitant with the increase in Social distance between the members of the majority and the minority groups there is an increase in the suspicion and distrust between the two groups. Lack of intimate knowledge of and contact between members of the majority and minority groups may in course of time generate an incapacity for mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's point of view. In short what matters is not merely the objective conditions—economic social and political—of the minority but the attitudes and patterns of behaviour they develop and stereotypes or pictures which they carry in their heads of themselves and of members of the majority group. It is therefore much more important to understand the nature and the genesis of the relationship between the majority and the minority. Minorities are not to be classified on religious and cultural or other grounds but on the types of relationship between the majority and the minority group and the different types of behaviour characteristically associated with these types of relationships.

Different types of minorities their characteristic behaviour depends upon the nature of situations in which the members of the minority community find themselves. The situations depend upon (1) the number and size of the minority (2) the extent to which minority involves friction with the majority (3) the nature of social arrangement governing the relationship between them and (4) goal towards which the majority groups are striving in the quest for a new and more satisfactory equilibrium.

Besides the extent to which a minority differs from the majority determines the relations between them. When the majority and minority groups are of the same racial stock but differ only in language and religion the tension between them becomes more evident and acute. When there is similarity and compatibility in cultural economic political or social spheres then the relation between the majority and the minority is less stable and more troublesome. The granting of some political and civic rights to the minority always leads to claims for equality of status in all respects.

On the basis of ideals and goals and actions of the minority groups we have four kinds of minorities viz (1) Pluralistic

(2) Assimilationists (3) Secessionist and (4) Militant These four types of minorities have character motives and goals which determine the attitude and actions of its members

A Pluralistic minority seeks toleration for its differences on the part of the members of the majority group. The desire for toleration is based on the idea that different religions and cultures can flourish peacefully side by side. The majority may grant toleration on the idea that freedom which they enjoy should be enjoyed by members of the minority group as well. It may be toleration for the language of the minority to be taught in schools and used in offices. The Pluralistic minority attempts to maintain its distinctive culture patterns. Thus the Muslims are anxious to see that Urdu is given its proper place. But we must not suppose that the claims for autonomy in religion and language stop at that, because with it the struggle of the minority for economic and political rights goes on. The struggle pride in which the intellectuals in the minority group take interest make it a pivot for leadership and power. This struggle ends only when the demands of the Pluralistic minority are fully granted by the majority, and full equality is attained in all spheres of life.

The Assimilationist minority wants full opportunity for participation in the life of the majority community. Unlike the Pluralistic minority, they do not crave for toleration and autonomy but for complete acceptance by the majority and to merge in it. Thus Harijans show this tendency. This anxiety on the part of the Assimilationist minority develops a defence-reaction in the majority who resist this tendency. This is illustrated in the relation between the Harijans and the Caste Hindus.

The third type is the Secessionist minority. It repudiates assimilation on the one hand and mere toleration and cultural autonomy on the other. The main aim of the Secessionist minority is to attain independent status and the demand for the recognition of its national sovereignty may arise on the basis of its past history, freedom and power. The religion, culture, etc. of Secessionist minority are built up into moving symbols of national glory. In this task, the intellectuals among the minority play a decisive role. If any hindrance is placed by the majority community in their path of attainment of these goals or if they are oppressed or coerced in any way, the minority community develops oppression psychosis. This in its turn develops separationist tendencies and the members of the

Secessionist minority become isolationists. Similar tendencies develop rapidly among Muslims after the assumption of office by the Congress party in the provinces which created a sense of insecurity and subordination in Muslims.

The fourth type of minority is the Militant type. Its goal reaches far beyond toleration, assimilation or even cultural or political autonomy. The goal of the militant type is to dominate others. It does not suffer from any sense of inferiority but is conscious of its own superiority, numerical strength and righteousness. This sense of righteousness among members of majority and minority groups gives rise to conflicts between them. In the absence of such sense of righteousness there will be no conflict.

The history of minorities in the different countries of the world shows that they pass through the above four stages. Something like this seems to be happening in India today. Every minority at first seeks toleration for its religious and other differences and thus becomes a pluralistic minority. When sufficient toleration and autonomy are attained the pluralistic minority advances to the assimilationist stage characterised by a desire to be accepted and incorporated by the majority. When this fails, frustration of this desire produces secessionist tendencies which may take the form either of the complete separation from the majority and the establishment of a sovereign nationhood or the desire to join other states with which it has cultural or religious identity. If they progress in these directions then they may try to dominate others and resort to militant methods to achieve these objectives. Finally when this goal is actually attained the community sheds its distinctive characteristics of a minority.

No minority group is ever unanimous in all its attitudes and actions. They too have their internal differences, their factions and ideological cross current. Thus among the Muslims we find Muslim Leagues, Congress Muslims, Nationalist Muslims etc. Besides these four types of minorities are not distinct stages in the evolution of the minority from the pluralistic to the militant stage. They may actually exist in mixed forms. Pure types of minorities are seldom found. All minority communities contain within themselves tendencies and movement which show certain features of one or more of the four types of minorities. And in this lies the hope for the solution of the Hindu Muslim problem.

The advantage of such a classification of minorities and their characteristics is that we can use it for analysing the problems for particular minority groups, and devising programmes for their solution. To-day, India is in urgent need of a proper solution of this problem, because on this will depend the peace and progress of Free India. Social Psychology has shown that this problem can be solved, the details of which will require a separate article.

Prejudices and antipathies cannot be wiped out by legislations or executive orders. Programmes and policies for communal harmony can be so framed as to reduce the social distance between the members of the majority and the minority groups. Unnecessary frustrations to members of the minority groups should be avoided. Propaganda speeches and pamphlets, legislations and safeguards are of no use for promoting communal harmony. What is essential is that every member of the minority group must be made to feel that he has security and prestige in all spheres of life, economic, political, Social and religious. Intellectual appeals and arguments are of little avail for this purpose.

Once the rights of individuals as individuals are recognised and respected by the State, once security and opportunity for all is guaranteed, the foundation for the solution of the minority problem will be laid. Only the introduction of a socio-economic system in which one person's success or security is not dependent upon another's failure, can solve this problem.

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## Claim of Muslims Refuted

# PAKISTAN

By Chowdry Akbar Khan

The supporters of Pakistan base their claim of partitioning India on the ground of religion. They theorise that religion is the fundamental basis of a nation.

Now what is a nation? Any people, however heterogeneous living in a certain part of the world marked by definite frontiers of a fairly long standing in point of time deserves the claim of being called a Nation.

Different races may inhabit the same country, several creeds may be found side by side in a given place, various languages may be spoken within the same frontiers, a number of cultures may enjoy existence in the same stretch of territory. Notwithstanding any or all these differences a nation remains a nation. Conversely the members of a race may be found in far flung regions, the followers of a faith may be living scattered in different lands. And as such their affinity in blood or, and likeness in belief cannot bring them together in community of interests. But in the case of a nation, however mixed its composition, all its members irrespective of any dissimilarity in race, creed or any other tomfoolery, have interests in common, political, economic, cultural, social.

Purity of blood may be lost, race may get mixed, religion may be changed at will. But it is the Nation that endures. Because British and French Canadians differ in race, creed, culture, customs and language, are they supposed to be two nations, and as such should Canada suffer to be split up into two separate political units? Do the Boers and the Anglo-Saxons in the Union of South Africa not consider themselves as one nation? Have not the Moslem and Christian Albanians always thought and acted in terms of one people? The Swiss (Germans, French and Italians) in spite of their racial affinity and adjacent position to their respective German, French and Italian brothers living in Germany, France and Italy have adhered together to preserve their own brand of nationality. Chinese Moslems (60 millions) have no aspirations

for a Chinese Pakistan, nor have the Moslem peoples of the Soviet Union any wish or desire to work for their separation from the Red Republic.

Examining the case of the partition of India we find that the following areas are affected :—

- 1 North-western block    The Punjab, Beluchistan, Kashmir, Sind, N. W. Frontier.
- 2 Eastern block            Bengal.
- 3 Deccan block            Hyderabad State.

Ninety per cent. of the population of the Hyderabad State is Hindu. But because its ruler happens to be a Moslem (as the Pakistanis say) it should be included in the Pakistan scheme, is sheer nonsense.

Bengal is roughly half Hindu and half Moslem. The Moslem half, as there is in the Eastern Bengal, could on no account stand on their own hemmed in surrounding big blocks of Hindu territories.

As far as the Punjab, the stronghold of Pakistan, is concerned, the south-eastern half of the province, being Hindu and given choice, would readily join the contiguous Hindu India. And the Moslem Punjab (north-western part) is an arid land, semi desert, as are also Sind, Beluchistan and N. W. Frontier.

Economically Pakistan, if ever realised, will be a suicidal blunder for the Moslems. It will be no better than Afghanistan which, being poor and devoid of any appreciable quantity of resources, depends for her political entity largely upon the charitable subsidy she has been drawing from the Indian Exchequer. When the weak neutrals in this war have been forced to pursue a certain course by one belligerent or another, how could Pakistan stand against an outside pressure? What happened to Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Turkey and Sweden may be left to the readers to say.

Politically Pakistan will be a nonentity, a weak, helpless state lodging itself in oblivion while at the same time reducing the strength of the mighty India to a certain extent. When the already existing pakistans—Iraq, Iran, Syria, Albania—could not protest let alone stand against their forcible occupation by certain Powers there would be little chance for this newly conceived Pakistan to survive.

Geographically India possesses frontiers set aside by nature which have been there from time immemorial. Historically India has always remained one. Despite a number of ruling houses existing side by side at times India has never lost her Oneness.

Racially 99 per cent of the population of India are of Hindu origin. The people of the North-western block Hindu and Moslem belong to the same racial stock just as Moslems and the Hindus of Bengal are the descendants of the same people. So all over India

What is the Moslem position in India over the question of Pakistan? Except the discredited Moslem League which represents the landlords' commercial interests and the rulers all the other Moslem organisations are against the demand for Pakistan. Khudai Khidmatgars, Ahrars, Khaksars, Shiris, Momins and the recently formed All India National Moslem Majlis shun any such idea and have voiced their feelings against any such ruinous scheme and support the Indian independence movement. In the elections of 1937 Moslem League could form no ministry in any of the provinces. Out of a purely Moslem electorate it could get an insignificant vote i.e. 5 per cent.

Pakistan has a very similitude. Perhaps the supporters of Pakistan would learn from this. Ireland has been partitioned and it has proved an unhappy experiment. Plague of communalism has been introduced in Palestine and ever since 1918 there has been no peace in the Holy Land.

The times of small nations are past. Now is the time for big federations. The Nazi juggernaut squashed all that came in its way. The British Commonwealth stood because of its hugeness and the Soviets blunted its teeth, slowed and stopped its momentum and ultimately set it rolling back by giving a wrong turn to its wheel. So therefore let us resolve instead of ulcerising India we strive with all our effort to get all the stretches of territory from the Pacific Ocean to the Red Sea into one such combination that will help preserve the sorely needed peace of the world.

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Analysed and X-rayed

## PROBLEM OF PAKISTAN

(By Syed Amir Shah \*)

A cursory perusal of the British and American Press would perhaps convince any reader that the main obstacle to the granting of Indian Independence is the Hindu-Muslim problem

I, as an Indian Muslim, must clear the position of millions of Muslims who, like myself, feel very strongly about the misrepresentation in the British and American Press that the Muslim League is the spokesman of ninety millions of Muslims and politically equal in status to the Indian National Congress.

Let me analyse the position of the Muslim League. It cannot and does not represent the millions of Indian Muslims. First of all it has never published throughout its career any figures about its membership and none of the members of its Council has ever been elected by any democratic constituent bodies. It is well-known that the controllers of the Muslim League are Muslim Princes, Landlords, Industrialists, and others who historically have filled the role of stooges of the paramount power. This war has demonstrated that an occupying power can always produce even amongst progressive nations like the French, persons who are willing to be quislings. Why after 200 years of foreign rule should India be an exception? Let me emphasise that this does not apply only to Muslims of India but equally to Hindus, Sikhs, and other religious groups. From time immemorial Princes, Landlords, Industrialists, Money-lenders, and Rentiers have been most anxious to do the bidding of the Suzerain Power. Therefore, it is understandable that the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal organisations are always willing to work according to the dictation of the paramount power and are more afraid of the masses of India than the British Government. They do not want a government of India by adult suffrage of peasants and workers based on a democratic constitution any more than the capitalist class in any other country want a Socialist government. Therefore, it is very easy to see that the interests of communal organisations like the Muslim League are the same as

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\* Text of a speech made in London.



that of British Imperialists for all of them want to exploit the poor uneducated Indians through religion. Pakistan is one of the latest devices inspired by British Imperialism and accepted by the Muslim League to perpetuate Imperialist rule for everybody knows that neither the Punjab nor Sind separated from the rest of India can subsist as real autonomous states without the help of some foreign power. Let me tell my audience in England that the 1937 elections clearly proved that the Muslim League only polled 5 per cent of the total Muslim votes of India of approximately  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions. There is no reason to believe that it has increased its representation or electoral strength during the last seven years. On the contrary many members of the Muslim League elected to the Legislatures have thought it a prudent policy to leave the League or abandon the League programme and follow the general Nationalist trend of the country.

The present Premier of the Punjab when presented with an ultimatum by Mr. Jinnah only a few months ago as to whether he would pursue the programme of the Muslim League and Pakistan chose to defy both Mr. Jinnah and the League Council. In Bengal the Premier though belonging to the Muslim League has formed a Coalition Government with some Caste Hindus all of whom are opposed to Pakistan because he could not find enough Muslims to support him or his League programme.

Many Muslims realise that while British Imperialism wants Pakistan to be a bone of contention between Hindus and Muslims it has no idea of dividing India administratively. Hence the paradoxical situation both in Bengal and the Punjab.

I cannot do better than quote Sir Stafford Cripps —

The controllers of the Moslem League are drawn almost entirely from the professional landlord or industrial class of well to do Moslems whose interests are quite different from those of the Moslem masses. This would like to see the return of the Muslim domination in India but as this is impossible they have regarded the institution of British rule as on the whole the lesser of two alternatives. The other is the Government of India by peasants and workers through adult suffrage and a democratic Indian constitution. They fear this alternative even more than they dislike British rule. It is for this reason that they have refused to support the Congress. In truth if the eighty million Moslems were left to

itself of the pestilence of war, it must come together and not encourage the independence and sovereignty of all kinds of states. It seems to me to be beyond doubt that exclusive national states are bound to disappear after this war. For if the democracies are victorious they will have to carve out a world order based on economic justice, and the elimination of state sovereignty. There must be, if not a common government, at least effective co-operation between states, co-operation which must rule out isolated economic and political action on the part of any of them. If the democracies repeat the blunder of 1918 and cling to imperialism and state sovereignty, the next war will either destroy them or mankind itself. The choice is between war and extinction on the one hand, and destruction of state sovereignty and imperialism on the other

The parting of the ways between those who stand for Pakistan and those who are opposed to it has come. A Muslim must definitely make up his mind whether he wants to support Mr. Jinnah or the forces which stand for the freedom of the country and for economic and social justice. At this juncture in our history Muslim can play a unique role. There is political immortality for them, if they would only grasp it.

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What facts say —

## ASSAM RULES OUT PAKISTAN

First Nail in the Coffin

The separationist tendency that grew in eminent Muslim mind like Sir Muhammad Iqbal as early as 1930 finally culminated in the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League in 1940. Today the Pakistan demand rests on two basic principles (1) That the Muslims are a nation (2) An independent state of the Muslim majority areas (geographically contiguous) in which the interests of the minorities will be protected. In political language the League claims for a national sovereign status on religious grounds and wants a confederation in India. To constitute a nation on religious ground does not tally with the modern definition of a nation. Many factors such as common race or stock common language common territory common history and common tradition are wanting. Such an outlook further envisages an impossible state of affairs in which we find the economic interests of the proletariat and the capitalists are one and the same. Consequently the two nation theory of Mr Jinnah has helped to shift the economic to the religious field. The demand for a separate federation in which the interests of the minorities will be protected can only be understood in terms of the principle of self determination. Then the conception of a loose federation in which maximum autonomy will be granted to the constituent unit with the power of secession is a more reasonable and practicable proposition. A confederation creates conditions which history tells us do not bear happy results. That is why America and Russia consented to remain under central federations. A united India (when independent) will effectively contribute to world peace in this atomic age and be an enemy of old and new types of imperialism. A correct application of the self determination principle makes the legitimate demands of the Muslim (minority safeguards) fulfilled and saves India from being divided. All dispassionate comment on the League mind today clearly reveals the negative mentality of accusing Congress and fighting for vague ideology. Humayun Kabir in his Muslim politics has rightly observed that inspire of the recent infiltration of the proletariat into its hold the league leadership has not changed its character. During his last Calcutta visit Mr Jinnah

expressed his helplessness for not having adequate programme for the masses before an assembly of League workers. It is always difficult for a Pakistan, as we have been told today, is a separate federation which would include Assam as well. The insistence of including Assam in Pakistan is exhibitivie of inconsistency in Mr. Jinnah's demands. Assam is a Hindu majority province (Hindu 52 lakhs, Muslim 27.8 lakhs, Tribal 9.9 lakhs according to 1931 census) the 1941 census was run on community basis (not religious) The then League cabinet headed by Sir Muhammad Sadulla, made a deliberate attempt to alienate the Tribal Hindus from the main body of Hindus and followed a clever policy of Muslim immigration from Bengal. The census has thus been able to show these figures (Hindu 45.4 lakhs, Muslim 34.7 lakhs and Tribal 2.8 lakhs) still the Muslims remained as a big minority community and could not deceive the statistics as it was intended to be. But even after this the League leaders including Mr. Jinnah himself have been busy making politics on wrong mathematics. The pattern of arguments has varied constantly and often enough argument is replaced by fanaticism and opportunist talks. The following example will clearly show how an attempt has been made to distort the statistics to suit the League's demand. We have been told in a book written by Mr. Mujibar Rahman that 34.75 lakhs of the Muslims constitute the majority in the province. The line of argument is this 45 lakhs of the Hindus constitute a minority of the total population (10900000), 29 lakhs of the Tribals are uncivilised and hence omitted from constitutional considerations. Only 80 lakhs of Hindus and Muslims come within the perview of the constitutional considerations. The 15 lakhs of the migratory and non-domiciled labourers are omitted on similar grounds. These people are all Hindus. This leaves a population of 65 lakhs in Assam out of which 34.75 lakhs of indivisible and constitutionally recognised Muslims form a clear majority. This is only one of a series of opportunist arguments. Many more can be quoted. Sometimes Assam becomes the Leaguers prize because it falls within the zone of eastern Pakistan. sometimes its mineral resources become covetable for a stable economy in Pakistan.

The latest one has come from Mr. Jinnah himself. At Gauhati he is reported to have said "I know Assam shall be in Pakistan." No argument was put forward in favour of it. Such obstinacy has been shown even after the clear verdict of Assam at the polls against Pakistan 61 out of 108 seats in the Assembly have gone to the Congress and more than 30 P.C. of the

betrayed the bankruptcy of British statesmanship in dealing with Irish affairs. In this connection may I enquire from my Muslim brethren if they have thought or care for the fate of the Scheduled classes of India. Indian Christians and other minorities? Are they content to leave them all under the perpetual domination of the majority community to which they themselves so strongly object? Instead of seeking to become like the Hindus another majority community to dominate over others is it not high time that they come forward as the natural leaders and champions of all other and smaller minorities of the land? So I appeal to my countrymen to take to a broader and realistic view of the actual need of the Indian situation and to consider the legitimate requirements of all classes and communities in the land. When millions of our fellow countrymen are threatened with famine and are starvation is this a time for us to indulge in petty bickerings? Let us pull ourselves together close our ranks and do our best to save our people from the pangs of hunger.



As a Nationalist Muslim sees it

## PAN-ISLAMISM

By Chowdry Akbar Khan.

Just after the rule of the first two caliphs schism took place in the ranks of Islam, so that the two following met violent death at the hands of their opponents. After Muawaya's reign that fine democratic institution, i.e., the election of the caliph by the general Muslim vote, was gone for ever. It lived a very short life in the life of the nations. With its death, hereditary kingship, under the cloak of caliphate, was established by Yazid at the expense of the martyrdom of the grandson of the Holy Prophet, Hussein and his near and dear ones, who had stood up against the un-constitutional and un-Islamic methods of the Umayyid, challenged the whole might of the autocrat and faced the full fury of the despot with exemplary fearlessness. In the eyes of Islam that little Husseinite band represents the action of a true 'mujahid' (i.e., fighter in the cause of God), for they spared neither wealth nor blood, neither limb nor life in the cause of Islam.

The Umayyid dynasty was ousted by their near cousins, the Abbassids, who stamped out the ruling house completely, but for one of its members, Abdul Rahman, who fled from the country, took refuge in Spain, and established a separate caliphate there. Like their predecessors the Abbassids exploited the word 'caliph', for neither of the two houses democratically represented the Muslims. They held them down by sword, force and power they possessed, and it was by that virtue that they put forward their claim to be the 'Shadow of God'. The Abbassid caliph, Haroun al-Rashid, exchanged presents with Charlemagne, the Christian Frank King of France, and drew a treaty of alliance against the Cordova caliphate of Spain. At the same time, to counteract this hostile act, the caliph of Spain sent friendly emissaries to the Jewish Khazar king, the southern boundary of whose domain abutted on the northern frontier of the Abbassids.

Exit the Abbassids -- The Muslim world was divided into several independent states, each claiming the divine right of caliphate, only to use it to their own ends. Enter the Turks. --

They followed suit. They were as imperial in their outlook and action as all their foregone co religionists. By the end of the nineteenth century most of the constituent parts of the Islamic world had come under the heel of the European Christian powers. The supposed caliphate was lying on its death bed.

During the last half of the nineteenth century united Germany came on the stage. Having appeared late in the field of colonial expansion and left out of the general loot she found herself discomfited, humiliated and at last desperate in the company of nations. She had lost the race but she had not lost the heart. The chief obstacle in her path of world domination was Britain. Unless it broke her power and empire the German nation could not achieve its object. As then the Turkish Empire was breathing its last the Kaiser came forward as the champion of Islam as Mussolini who while brandishing a jewelled sword presented to him by the Arabs of Libya whom he had subdued only a few years before by means of bombers and tanks and their lands given to the Italian colonists declared himself Protector of Islam. Self styling himself as protector in one breath he raped the Muslim amirates of Abyssinia and stole the Muslim kingdom of Albania in the other.

The German Emperor goaded the Turk to assert his right of caliphship among the Muslims of the world with the view that thus would all the believer of the world owe their religious loyalty to the caliph and bind themselves to the will of the Commander of the Faithful to be used at the opportune moment. That was the idea of pan Islamism originated by the Germans and taken up by the Young Turks.

The idea that novel idea at once found favour with the Indian Muslims who adopted the Fez and the frock as their national costume. They poured money into Turkey and shed their blood for her only to help her keep the freedom conscious Arabs under subjection and thus prolong their misery and humiliation and indirectly help Germany in the furtherance of her aims. Their attention their thoughts and their energy being diverted through the religious channel towards the foreign countries the Indian Muslim lost all conception of nationhood of India his Motherland. He believed that all his troubles economic as well as political would be removed and all problems solved thus. He talked and took delight in the mention of the foreign Muslims he wrote and extolled the virtues of the outside Muslim regions he sang the praises of the Arab and the Turk he dreamed of them he held them in

reverence, in awe. He took India as some foreign land, no concern of his, where his sojourn was but temporary.

Pan-Islamism met a terrible fate, it faced a violent death at the hands of the same nation, who had created it. Kemal Atatürk banished caliphate for ever. He said it was a source of weakness to Turkey and her nationhood. "Whatever denomination of a religion a man belonged to, as long as he was Turk, it mattered not," so he argued. He kneaded Muslims, Jews, and Christians of the country into one united nation. Thus he abolished all restrictions and removed all discriminations existing between the three religions, and put a stop to the massacre of the Christian Armenians, frequent in the times of the caliphs.

In order to obtain the support of the Muslim world, even today, some Muslim kings are using their influence to get themselves recognised as 'caliph'. This is the same old trick of pan-Islamism being played to further their individual interests.

Whoever captures the leadership of the Muslim world, real or unreal, Arab or Turk, the Indian Muslim will not only derive no benefit from it but will also enhance his political and economic difficulties. He is bound to lose much as he has in the past. As long as he remains slave in his own country of a foreign power, he is of no value to the outside Muslims, and for that the latter despise him. He could command no respect for his foreign outlook. If one cannot be true to his ownself and patriotic towards his own motherland, he cannot be so to an alien one.

As long as India is in subjection the Muslim countries have no choice but to yield to the force of the Christian powers. They are weak, powerless and helpless. Almost all of them are, at present, under foreign domination, nor by their own choice or free will. Had India been free she would not have allowed any foreign power to encroach upon the sovereignty of those helpless Muslim States for her own sake. She would have acted like a big brother towards them, just as U.S.A. has behaved towards other American republics, and by the application of the Monroe doctrine has warned every non-American power not to approach the American shores with any hostile intentions.

Supposing all the Muslim-inhabited territories were brought together into one federation would they be better off than at present, after the full application of the political and economic pan-Islamism? It is doubtful.



1 It is impracticable There is bound to be rivalry among the Muslim members of the different nationalities as has always been. Even today the Christian Arabs of the Lebanon are prepared to join the proposed Arab federation while the Muslim Arabs of the Saudi Arabia do not favour the scheme

2 By the organisation of the pan Islamic group the Buddhist and the Hindu areas on the one hand and the Christian countries on the other or any other combination would move to set up a hostile camp

3 Minorities in Muslim and non Muslim areas will have to be exchanged as was done in Turkey and Greece after the last War which might be infeasible in the case of India

4 The Muslim countries are mostly situated in the region of the Tropic of Cancer and one third at least if not more of all that area is desert and therefore unproductive Its own economic pan Islamism will suffocate it without redemption It will suffer the same fate as the Argentine Republic the economic pressure upon which has been brought to bear to break diplomatic relations with the Axis Turkey and Spain were faced with the same dilemma

5 The boycott of the non believers as some misguided Muslims visualise will naturally get the curse of that action recoiled upon the head of the Muslims For they will get themselves boycotted in turn Economical as well as political pressure will be exerted upon them by the Buddhists Confucians and the Shintoists from the east by the Hindus and the Africans from the south by the Communists and the Christians from the north and the west Could Islam stand that pressure? Having signed its own death warrant it is bound to be crushed between

6 Political and/or economic aggression of the Indian might be dealt with in the same fashion and with the same result as happened in Spain They might fare the same sad fate as the Moors suffered at the time of their expulsion by the Catholic sovereigns of that country It is wise for them to learn a timely lesson from the present day Nazism which is facing a mighty coalition of a world in arms for the sake of its aggressive character If the world is to live in peace Fascism of whatever sort and in whatever place will have to go

For their own sake and for the sake of the foreign Muslims the best and the safest course open to the Indian Muslims is to

strive in every way to break the bonds of their slavery and free their motherland from foreign domination. It is only when they will devote their heart and soul, effort and energy, wealth and blood for the cause of the freedom and liberation of India that they can serve better the cause of Islam. For an independent and socialist India will not tolerate, as she could not afford to tolerate, any aggression in Muslim countries. It will be to her own interest. Subject India is the cause of their misfortunes. To control India the British have to control all the regions bordering on the Indian Ocean. With a free India in the centre the Indian Muslims could invite, not only foreign Muslim States but also all the regions extending from, and in the Pacific, to the shores of the Dardanelles to form 'Paci-Red' Confederation.

## BETTER PAKISTAN THAN ETERNAL DEADLOCK

(By O S EDWARDS)

We can give freedom to Hindu and Moslem separately if they are shy of sharing it together and therefore we ought to rather than keep both of them waiting indefinitely. This idea was implicit in a clause of the proposals Sir Stafford Cripps took to India in March 1942. It was put more directly to the House of Commons in a speech by Mr Amery on 28 April 1942. Our ideal remains a united India. Mr Amery said but we would sooner see India divided and free than keep her various elements for ever chafing against us and against each other under a sense of impotent frustration.

Very well then let us go to it or rather at this stage take a good look at ways and means in case we have to go to it.

Six Indian provinces are governing themselves today in most of those matters that intimately affect the normal daily life of the common man. They are the Punjab the North West Frontier Province Sind Bengal Assam and Orissa with 115 200 000 people in all. Autonomy their acceptance of Home Rule distinguishes them politically from the five other provinces where the influence of the Congress party delays similar progress for 180 000 000 people. Now notice three other points.

- (i) The first four of the autonomous six are the only British Indian provinces where a majority of the people are Moslems and the fifth Assam has by far the largest of the provincial Moslem minorities.
- (ii) The Punjab the N W F P and Sind are mutually contiguous territories in the north west corner of India.
- (iii) This corner is completed by four other territories that have different political status but very large Moslem majorities—Baluchistan and the Indian States of Kashmir Bhawalpur and Khairpur.

It is no mere coincidence that, although Moslems are barely a quarter of all India's population, they make up a very large majority of the total in the self-governing parts of India today. So it is also no more coincidence that half of the self-governing provinces are tucked together into the north-west quarter of India, for that is where you get, not the greater number of Moslems, but the most virile, self-contained concentration of them, and the fewest Hindus. The political phenomenon is explained, not by confidence, but by two theories and one fact.

The theories are that the Moslems, with a religion postulating the fraternal equality of man, are more adept to democracy than the Hindus, accepting the dogma of hereditary, inescapable caste, and that the Hindus dominating the Congress are bent, consciously or otherwise, on making the party or political caste of 'Herrenvolk' with a totalitarian power over the whole of India.

At this last point, theory and fact meet. The fact is that the Hindus are much more impatient than the Moslems for the British to hand over the Central Government of All-India, as distinct from the several provincial Governments. And the Moslems distrust their motives.

Hindus appear to reject a Moslem belief that half or three-quarters of a loaf is better than no bread. They argue that they can best and soonest get all they desire by denying themselves the instalment of it that we want them to accept first. They refuse provincial autonomy (except in two small units, Assam and Orissa) lest their energies be dispersed and diverted from their major objective.

Nobody in his senses can blame the Hindus for want in complete self-government. But equally nobody should blame the Moslems for wanting the same thing. They say they can be sure of it only in the territories where they are a majority, and only if they are spared undue meddling there from outside. (When the Congress Government resigned in the other provinces, Moslems all over India, celebrated their own 'liberation' with a special Thanks—giving Day.) They argue that Hindu policy would deny them self-government, that because they are outnumbered in All-India by roughly three to one, it is a mathematical certainty they could not compete with Hindu power at the centre of a united India, and that with this power—call it Congress Fascism or any other name—a political

them in Hindustan. So why should not Kashmir federate with Pakistan?

You may hear a protest that Hindus in Pakistan would be at the mercy of the Moslem majority. But the argument cuts both ways in any scheme either for the partition of India or for provincial autonomy under a single Hindu dominated government. There would be plenty of Moslems at the mercy of a large Hindu majority in Hindustan. Communalism is normally most explosive where the rival communities are least unequal in strength and/or when each thinks it may gain by hostile pressure against the other. That temptation could hardly arise in separated Pakistan and Hindustan.

The approximate population of the projected Pakistan territory (1941 Census) is Total 36,562,000 Moslems 27,410,000 Hindus 5,513,000 Sikhs 2,760,700.

The Moslem ratio of population in Indian territories bordering Pakistan would average 22.7 per cent.

All the calculation and statistics mentioned so far take into account a projected remedy for at least one difficulty. The Jullundur and Ambala divisions of the Punjab on the eastern stretches of Pakistan have a substantial majority of robust Hindus and Sikhs. Neither they nor the Pakistan Government might welcome their incorporation in a predominantly Moslem Dominion and their location makes this easily avoidable. Most or the whole of the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions with about 4,700,000 Hindus, 1,300,000 Sikhs and 2,700,000 Moslems are reckoned as part of the rest of India, not of Pakistan.

This strongly Hindu Sikh area borders on the Delhi enclave from which and in which rules the present Central Government of India in impartial exclusion from provincial rivalries. It has been suggested that when Pakistan loses the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions they should join the Delhi enclave. This would then have an area and population roughly twice the size of Switzerland. It would make a convenient buffer between the two Dominions and it would have a function very different from its purpose today.

If Pakistan and Hindustan elected to stay in the British Commonwealth each would have its own constitutional Government. They would be sovereign States completely independent of us and of one another but held together in an Indian Commonwealth by their common recognition of the Crown. As a symbol of this bond and for the discharge of his

Commonwealth responsibilities as a purely constitutional Sovereign, the King would still be represented by a Viceroy in the neutrality of the Delhi enclave. In its strictly domestic affairs the enclave would be administered jointly by elected representatives of its own people and nominees of the Hindustan and Pakistan Government, with the Viceroy presiding. In recognition of the qualities and services, the Sikhs should be given prominence in this scheme. This same neutral Administration would be responsible for India's *continental* defence her Navy, Air Force, and the greater part of her Army. It would realise, in miniature, the ideal of an International Force.

Hindustan and Pakistan might each want some militia of their own for internal security, but they could not afford two complete and self-sufficient systems of defence. They would obviously share a common interest in the defence of India as a subcontinent against danger from outside it, and the disposition of forces in and around it might well be the duty of an authority impartial between the two Dominions.

This may prove to be the most contentious part of the partition scheme, and is not absolutely essential to it. If the idea of impars'as were dropped, the Jullunder and Ambala Divisions would be added to Hindustan. But before we land there, we must jump across to the most eastern corner of India, and consider East Bengal.

In the whole of Bengal (at least 700 miles from the nearest point in Pakistan) there are more Moslems than there would be in all Pakistan! So what happens to the partition's purpose if this mass of Bengali Moslems is to be incorporated in Hindustan?

Not very much, perhaps. For, by and large, the Bengali Moslem differs from his Hindu neighbours a good deal less markedly than Pakistanis differ from Hindustanis. And I have always thought that in Bengal the communities look to be exceptionally interdependent. But suppose the Moslems of Bengal refuse to stand out of the Pakistan sun, or the Government of Hindustan makes things too uncomfortable for them?

As things are, the political preponderance of Moslems in Bengal is a penalty (if that is the word) which the Hindus brought on themselves. If their hotheads had not agitated with bomb, book and scandal against the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Hindus might have become by now the rulers of Western Bengal. Instead, they so assailed the creation of a Moham-

medan Eastern Bengal that the partition of the\* province was revoked six years later. So for provincial business the 25 000 000 Bengali Hindus are now a minority lacking political outlets commensurate with their gifts.

Bengal might be divided if it must on lines less drastic than Lord Curzon's in 1905 so that the districts east of the Brahmaputra would become an autonomous outlying province of Pakistan or a self governing protectorate of the Delhi enclave. It would be no very great cut out of Bengal. But with well over 12 000 000 Moslems and 6 000 000 Hindus it would have at least as many people as Bombay and more than several European countries. Western Bengal in Hindustan would have approximately equal proportion of Moslems and Hindus.

Assuming the separation of Pakistan, Imparsia and East Bengal what would be left for Hindustan? It would have an area making it the seventh largest country in the world. It would have more than double the population of any other country except China. Read that again! Think what it means of instance as a problem of self government where only about thirteen per cent of the people are literate. Then pause before deciding that Hindustan would be a miserably truncated victim of India's Balkanisation.

Hindustan would comprise Assam, Western Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, the Central Provinces, Madras, Orissa, the United Provinces and some hundreds of Indian States including all the outstanding principalities like Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore.

It would extend from the North east border of India to her farthest south, and right across the peninsula from west to east.

At Karachi and Chittagong Pakistan and East Bengal would have ports doing a trade just about proportionate to their shares of India's total population. But Hindustan would have two of the foremost ports in the East—Calcutta and Bombay as well as others.

From some points of view Hindustan could be called the real India, shedding only a surplus appendix or two. It would embrace e.g. the northern and southern capitals of Hinduism at Benares and Madura to say nothing of Buddha's principle monuments in his native land.

It would be something more than by far the largest of India's separate parts—three times bigger than Pakistan and

having nearly ten times as many people. It would also be by far the wealthiest in actual and potential resources, even if climate makes its peoples, on average, less virile than the Pakistanis.

The approximate population of Hindustan today would be

| Total       | Hindu       | Moslem     |
|-------------|-------------|------------|
| 335,000,000 | 243,000,000 | 52,000,000 |

(The balance would consist of many small minorities.)

Those figures, of course, confront us immediately with an argument stressed against the partition: the conspicuous fact, illustrated equally by the statistics for Pakistan and East Bengal, that you cannot divide India into wholly Moslem and entirely Hindu parts. Almost wherever you go, you find members of both communities. That is why I must repeat, with emphasis, how completely I agreed when Mr. Amery said the idea remains a united India. But it becomes worse than useless to wait on an ideal, or even to founder on in pursuit of an ideal, if and when it proves to be a will-of-the-wisp.

We are pledged to remove from India the only bond that has ever given her so far, a semblance of unity from Srinagar to Comorin, from Quetta to Calcutta—the bond of Britain's alien rule. We are not categorically pledged to substitute the bond of a single indigenous Government. We are leaving it to Indians to arrange that for themselves, if they can and will. But should they fail to do it by agreement, we must be ready to think on other lines. We are bound by the cumulative effect of Queen Victoria's proclamation to India, the Atlantic Charter and a clause in the Cripps plan to end and prevent such Indian unity as would in any avoidable degree subject large masses of people, against their will, to domination by others or interference by others with the processes of freedom.

This subjection may not be wholly avoidable, for the reasons just mentioned. But failing unity, and failing complete freedom for Moslems in Hindustan and Hindus in Pakistan, the suggested partitions can be defended as the least impracticable means of signifying India's great religious and cultural division in politico-geographical terms, as the only way to satisfy the legitimate ambitions of Hindu and Moslem alike for a free Dominion that each community may call its own, as the only means of ensuring that each shall be represented, without undue trammel, by a governmental system appropriate to its distinctive characteristics.



## "WHY I OPPOSE PAKISTAN"

(By Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastrı)

The Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastrı addressed a largely attended public meeting on October 26 1945 under the auspices of the Kellett Institute at the Kellett High School Hall on Why I oppose Pakistan? Mr P Chenchiah presided. In the course of the address Mr Sastrı pleaded for a firm stand on the question of undivided India. He also forecast the possibility of the Cripps proposals being offered again and said that he for one would plump for it if the idea of non accession of Provinces were dropped out of the scheme.

The Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastrı began by saying that the idea of Pakistan was recommended so far as Madras was concerned on the ground that it would lead to united efforts to prevent or render useless the invasion of Japan. Then they were told that they were to agree to disagree with the Muslims and by means of that extraordinary agreement strike terror into the hearts of their rulers and so get rid of them. But it seemed to him that the latter result was not likely to be attained and that on the other hand British rule would be perpetuated and strengthened as soon as India was divided.

Mr Sastrı then examined the claims of the Muslims for Pakistan and said that one general ground was for a homeland where Muslim rule could be established for the spread of their culture. At the time the agitation started Mr Jinnah affirmed that under the Congress administration the interests of Muslims were neglected completely and where the Congress—the Hindus—were in power it was not possible to expect justice to the Muslim community. This made him even celebrate the day when the Congress laid down office. He even asked for a Royal Commission to enquire into the so called grievances but none took him seriously not even the Government which has made him what he is. So they were spared the spectacle of a Commission touring round for things which did not exist at all. There was also a vague statement of incompatibility between the Muslims and the Hindus the only remedy for it as in the case of unsuitable marriage being complete separation. This statement was falsified by about 800 years of their history. In 1916 when Mr Jinnah was considered the ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity he said that separate electorates would be considered by the Muslim community as unnecessary and harmful and their removal would be asked in ten years time. This was

a pointer to show that when an evil was established strong interests grew round it and when the evil was threatened those interests put up a strong fight for its continuance. So separate electorates for Muslims not only remained but extended to other communities as well. There was no use introducing a poison into public polity and then hoping that the poison would not be injurious to the system. They did this in South Africa and they now discovered that the concession then made had only weakened their position.

Proceeding, Mr Sastri said that Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League now believed in Pakistan to such an extent that they refused to co-operate with the Hindu community even in matters which were indifferent and on matters which were obviously conducive to the welfare of the nation. "We obstruct national progress until our demand is satisfied", was the stand now taken by Mr Jinnah. In the recent talks, Mahatma Gandhi could not have been admitted to the great presence unless he had yielded to the principle. At one stage, Mahatma Gandhi suggested arbitration. Mr Jinnah rejected the suggestion out of hand and the reason given was that Gandhi spoke only for himself. Was it reasonable for a person to say "I will not pursue discussion unless my point is yielded"? Was it right or justifiable for them to allow that kind of attitude on anybody's part? What was there in Pakistan that could not be understood by people? Could we not settle it by the honest method of give and take? What Mr Jinnah said to-day, somebody else might say to-morrow. "If we yield to this sort of thing, which I call political blackmail, political machinery must come to a standstill. I do not think the Hindus can submit to it. It is not right. We must resist it to the uttermost, come what may." Mr Sastri reiterated his solution of the problem by arbitration and asked whether Hindus and Muslims were going to quarrel over the matter and act and submit it to arbitration.

In this connection, Mr Sastri referred to a statement which appeared in the Press that 99 per cent of the Muslims in Great Britain were opposed to Pakistan and expressed the hope that this spirit would travel to India and that young Muslims would make their influence felt on their fathers and uncles in this country. He did not entertain this hope without some foundation. It was only necessary for the Hindus to show that they were not going to yield in this matter and then the Muslim community, goaded by young Muslims, would change its policy.

Dealing with the reasons why he was opposed to Pakistan Mr Sastry explained the need for India to stand as one political unit if she were to command respect from the nations of the world. Those who had studied Indian history for the last thousand years need not be told that they must be very careful on behalf of posterity as to whom they allowed to entrench themselves on India's strategic frontiers. A great many people who had studied the economic problem of India had given the unanimous verdict that Pakistan if it went apart from the rest of India would be unable to maintain itself. The truth of this could be seen from the recent attitude of Mr Jinnah when he wanted to be included in Pakistan a great many districts in the Punjab where Hindus were in a majority. He had reason to believe that the Famine Commission which was now touring the country would lay down the proposition definitely that if future famines hid to be combated with any hope of success India must remain one and undivided. Then if Pakistan was granted the Sikhs were determined to have their Sikhistan and in this part of the country there was already a demand for Dravidistan. Once they tolerated an evil it would begin to breed in its own fashion and other evils of the same kind would come into existence.

Mr Sastry then answered the question whether their leaders would not draw a line somewhere and say thus far and no further. He said that there was a thing called ideology which is a complex of ideas, aspirations and ideals all bound together in one sovereign principle. There was such a thing as an anarchic ideology which laid down that Government in itself was wrong, that authority was in itself an evil, as authority could only be exercised by violence. This theory was fostered by a very big man who thought that the sooner we got rid of authority the better it was. He said there was no harm in splitting up the country. He did not want a strong Centre but said let us have provincial autonomy. He believed in the restoration of a state of things believed to have existed three or four thousand years ago an India divided into an infinity of self-sufficient and self-governing villages. He was against the tendency of modern civilisation for States to come together into larger and larger groups. That was at the bottom of the desire to grant Mr Jinnah Pakistan. But it seemed to the speaker that mankind was not going to reverse gear and go back to primitive civilisation. The more they followed the ways of the rest of the world the more they were in the

centre of things, the better for them. He asked his audience to turn their back upon this idea of "scatterment of civilisation" firmly and stand for India, one and undivided.

Mr Sastri next examined the principle of self-determination. This self-determination, he said, was a fad, a slogan and when applied in the wrong sphere utterly mischievous and calculated to disintegrate. Mr Sastri quoted the view of Mr Lipman on this question and said that he had made it clear that self-determination which had nothing to do with self-government, rejected the ideal of a State within which diverse people found justice and that there was no end to its atomisation of human society. Mr Sastri also took up the question of Indian States and asserted that it was cruel to say that Pakistan was on a level with them. He felt confident that the States would come into one organic political entity provided there was a strong power in the Centre in which they had a voice.

Answering the question 'what would happen?' Mr Sastri said that under pressure from American advanced opinion, even the present Tory Party would be compelled unwillingly to repeat their Cripps' offer to India, though they would like to turn their back upon the offer as they had turned their back upon Cripps individually. Then what should be their attitude? There was a feeling in the inmost hearts of a great many Congressmen that the Congress made a sad mistake when it rejected the Cripps' scheme. To the question whether he welcomed the offer, Mr Sastri would say yes or no. The scheme offered India Dominion Status, not what it was twenty years ago, but what would be enjoyed by the other self-governing Dominions. It gave them the substance of independence, for while it made India equal to the other Dominions, it also gave the right to secede. So far the offer was good. But it also contained a bit of poison in the shape of a right of non-accession for any Province, wherein lay the foundation for Pakistan. He objected to this portion of the Cripps proposals. If they could compel the British people, when they offered the Cripps proposals again, to drop this idea of non-accession, he for one would plump for it. If they stood united and took this one decisive step and become a Dominion in reality, they would be able to attain their goal by sure and easy steps and hail the advent of a day when prosperity and honour and great position would again come to them.

The Chairman observed that they should approach the communal problem in a chastened humble and repentant mood. They must learn a lesson from history and transfer their loyalty from the community to the country or like the Russians to a common ideology. He also said that the mere repetition of the slogan "deadlock must be solved" was not going to solve the deadlock. They must take practical steps in that direction. He advised young man to begin to work for communal unity by making up with their Muslim neighbours and win this unity by bonds of love and affection.

Through Congress Eyes .

## POVERTY AND PARTITION

(Brief Analysis of Economic implications of Pakistan)

In the world of today economic and financial considerations are vital . . The Hindu and Muslim areas of India are interdependent, financially and economically . . "But if Pakistan comes both the states will be worse off because of division, particularly the Muslims areas. Not only would Hindustan need some of the resources of Pakistan, for industrial life, Pakistan would desperately need great quantities of the resources of Hindustan. In a closed trade system the Pakistan State of Bengal would, industrially speaking, die. In such a situation one would expect violence. And it is permissible to note that the Muslim State which would thus be strangled would contain the people who are considered more aggressive and warlike than their richer neighbours. The economic position of the Muslim State of Assam, adjoining Bengal on the east, would be also unfavourable. It has no outstanding mineral wealth; petroleum and chrome ore are its only noteworthy mineral resources. In a divided India, then, it would seem to be even more hopelessly situated, economically speaking, than Bengal. Division or no division, there would be little need for change in the economy of the Punjab, Kashmir and the Muslim States to the west. They would remain as they are now, pastoral and agricultural, economically tributary to Hindustan. A division of India strictly on religious lines would seem to destine all of Pakistan for such a status."<sup>1</sup>

" . . . With division of the country into Hindustan and Pakistan, Hindustan will have virtual monopoly of coal (90 per cent) and iron (92 per cent), considerable reserves of manganese, copper and bauxite. But Pakistan, both north-western and eastern, will have only a little low grade coal and iron ore and a little bauxite. On the whole its mineral wealth will be only about 5 per cent of that of British India as a whole. The poverty of the Muslim masses who have already a lower standard of living and average expectation of life than the Hindu masses

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<sup>1</sup>Pakistan by Dr. Ansari.

can only be relieved by rapid industrialization for which Pakistan would be in constant desperate need of the mineral resources of Hindustan. Assam coal with its excessive sulphur content cannot be used for metallurgical purposes. In the Punjab the fuel are mostly lignites. Coal fields far away from the iron ores or smelting works cannot also provide an economic basis for the development of metallurgical industries. Bauxite the essential raw material for the aluminium industry is not available at all in Pakistan but good deposits (15 150 tons in 1937) are available in Bihar and C. P. Mica indispensable for the electrical industries is found only in Bihar and Madras which produce about 109 000 cwt the highest production in the world. Refractory materials are to be found mostly in Hindustan except a few in Assam and Baluchistan. Most of India's cement production also now comes from Hindustan. 1 684 115 tons of lime stone the raw material for cement were produced in Hindustan as compared with 361 481 tons in Pakistan in 1937. So far as the production of rock phosphates essential for manuring is concerned it is now confined to Singhbhum and Trichinopoly.

### Largely Pastoral—

"Pakistan cannot be an industrial state and thus lacks the wherewithal of development of a vigorous democratic political community. No modern state can exist without iron coal and steel. As a matter of fact the economic condition of the Muslim dominated areas of the Punjab Kashmir N W F P Baluchistan and Sind and eastern Bengal will remain largely pastoral and agricultural in the future due to lack of noteworthy mineral resources. Their welfare would largely lie in large scale agricultural and pastoral enterprises depending upon the import of manufactured commodities from industrial Hindustan. Sind Baluchistan and N W F P are some of the poorest regions of India requiring a vast amount of capital for development that Pakistan an agricultural region will not be able to provide.

### Opportunity in Unity —

'This inexorable logic of Economics even more demands a united India in the coming epoch of Asiatic industrialization. Now after the war India and China will emerge as the leading nations of Asia. With Japan's resources crippled after this long drawn out struggle her markets in Asia and Africa will be largely at the disposal of India China and Australia. To

British and American products are far too expensive for these markets. India will have a special advantage because of her low cost of production and abundant supply of skilled labour due to the high grade technical education in war time and also because of the proximity of these markets. India can certainly take Japan's place in world industry and trade, provided that she takes advantage of the present golden opportunity that comes rarely in the economic history of a nation. Indian industrial planning from the strong federal centre demands a careful co-ordination and control of India's scattered industrial resources and materials with the C P. Bihar and Orissa forming the central core of India's future industrial power<sup>2</sup>.

"The financial implications of partition also deserve consideration. The majority of the constituent units of Pakistan—Sind, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan are deficit areas, and the others, the Punjab and Bengal are not surplus provinces. The Eastern State with its teeming population and slender resources has been described as "an isolation quarantine". The financial stability of the deficit provinces depends on the subvention from the Centre, and after partition, the Pakistan Centre, the Punjab, will have to bear the whole of the burden. Sind gets a cash subvention of Rs 105 lakhs and N.W.F.P. gets Rs. 10 lakhs and the entire cost of the administration of Baluchistan is borne by the Central Government. According to liberal calculations Sind will not be self-sufficient till 1984. At present Pakistan contributes Rs 7,13,17,594 to the Central Revenues, while Hindustan contributes Rs 51,91,27,729 with which the Government of India is carried on, but after separation Pakistan will have to do without the help of financial contribution from the rest of India. Any fresh taxation not for the nation-building departments of the Provinces, seems suicidal. The most significant fact is that the Government of India spends nearly 52 crores out of its total revenue of Rs 121 crores on defence, one-half to two-thirds the army being drawn from Pakistan, (the Punjab provided nearly 58 per cent. of the fighting men of the Indian Army before the war) and a large portion of this expenditure shall have to be borne by the Punjab. It is still more significant to note that per capita burden of taxation in Pakistan is already higher than the corresponding figure for 'Hindustan,' Rs 75 as against Rs 53 and the trappings of statehood will greatly enhance this burden. . . .

<sup>2</sup> Radha Kama! Mukerji.

An Economist looks at Pakistan.



## Revenues Halved —

With the separation of the predominantly Hindu areas from the Punjab and Bengal the position of Pakistan will be worsened. According to Dr Ambedkar's calculations their revenues will be halved. To put it in concrete terms while the revenues of Pakistan and the Eastern Muslim State will be Rs 60 crores minus Rs 24 crores (revenues of predominantly Hindu areas) i.e. Rs 36 crores the revenues of Hindustan will be Rs 90 crores plus Rs 24 crores i.e. Rs 120 crores. Not only will the revenues of Pakistan be limited but their main sources will be inelastic like land revenue while elastic and expanding sources like customs and income tax will be meagre.

Bengal as it is now with 20 per cent of the population of British India possesses 33 per cent of its industry. In Eastern Bengal without Calcutta the percentage of British Indian industry falls to 27 per cent. Assam has valuable tea gardens and is one of India's two sources of petroleum but has virtually no industrial development. Thus North East India without Calcutta would be an almost wholly agrarian appendage served by the one minor port of Chittagong. If Calcutta was given an autonomous status it could doubtless be arranged that the customs duties on goods imported on route to North East India or the Hindu State would be credited to the State to which the goods were consigned and if Calcutta were included in North East India a similar arrangement would presumably be made since otherwise it would be open to the Hindu State to import goods through Bombay. In either case the share of North East India would be relatively small for the bulk of the goods would continue to go as they go now, not eastwards but westwards to Western Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and the Eastern areas of Central and United Provinces. Customs barrier inevitably restrict freedom of trade and it seems not improbable that some Hindu firms would evade the barrier and also perhaps the difficulties of double income tax by shifting their quarters to the Hindu State.<sup>3</sup>

## Factories and Labour —

The North Western zone possesses 15 per cent of the seasonal and only 97 per cent of the perennial industries. Of

these the former employ 15 per cent of the workers engaged in seasonal factories and the latter only 4 per cent of those engaged in perennial factories all over India. The Eastern zone too, after the predominantly Hindu Calcutta area is removed from it will be no better situated than the North Western State. In agriculture the area under cultivation per head in "Hindustan" will be one acre, while in Pakistan it will be three-fourths of an acre.

### Agricultural Products :—

The following tabulated description of the division of resources offers a rough and ready picture.<sup>4</sup>

Food Grains Distinct advantage with 'Hindustan'

Oil Seed Pakistan very deficient

Sugar Substantial advantage with 'Hindustan'

Cotton Substantial advantage with 'Hindustan'.

Jute : Slightly favourable to Pakistan.

Iron Ore. Manganese Practically the whole supply in 'Hindustan'

Thus Pakistan will not only be poorer with regard to agricultural products, its industrial potentialities also will be greatly curtailed. Deficiency of iron and coal will cripple industrial development. To tap the alternate source, hydro-electricity, will be very costly. Leaving aside the disputed Jute industry, Pakistan will be without cotton, textile, sugar, iron and steel and chemical industries. Several constituents of the proposed State of Pakistan will be, what are known as deficit provinces. Their financial stability depends on the subvention from the Centre. After partition, the Pakistan Centre will have to bear the whole of the burden.

### Taxes and Taxation —

There is yet another complicating factor. In the Muslim zones capital is concentrated mostly with the Hindus. The Hindus of North West Frontier Province, for instance, contribute 80 per cent. of the Income Tax. In Bengal, nearly three-fourths of the revenue comes from them, while approximately 87 per cent. of the legal, 80 per cent. of the medical and 88 per cent. of the Banking, Insurance and Exchange business is in Hindu hands. The predominance of Hindus in the major

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<sup>4</sup> Ashok Mehta & Patwardhan . "Communal" Triangle'

cities of the proposed state of Pakistan has its own significance. The pivotal position of Hindu money lenders in the villages of the Punjab has been noted and deplored for over half a century. If these monied interests are maintained will it not mean the perpetuation in one form or another of the 'Banias Imperialism' against which the Leaguers hurl their wrath?

Of course it can be said that these Hindu money lenders and capital holders will be expropriated. But any move for expropriation will bring Pakistan into conflict with Hindustan which will be anxious to guard the interests of the Hindu minority in the Muslim State. Limited resources, lack of capital and shrinkage of credit caused by the break up of India as a whole will make it well nigh impossible for Pakistan to start an industrial programme or to so reorganize its economy as would be able to combat and overcome the challenge of corrosive poverty. Not that the Hindu state will be free of these problems. As a matter of fact partition will harm both the states. It will not solve the problems either. It will create a legacy of bickering and estrangement between the two communities. It will plunge the two States in a sea of hatred and fear from which they will find it difficult to emerge.

### No Logic —

All these economic and financial difficulties however do not seem either to concern or to deter the advocates of Pakistan. They do not ask if the north western and the north eastern States will attain self sufficiency and develop enough military, economic and political power to enable them to resist the pressure of external aggression. They do not ask how they will fare in the competitive world in the matter of international trade and protection of the rights of their nationals. They do not ask if they will or will not be able to alleviate the grovelling poverty of the masses of their population. Their attitude seems to be typified by the answer which Mr Jinnah gave in an interview to Herbert L. Matthews appearing in the New York Times of September 21, 1942 to the effect "Afghanistan is a poor country but it gets along so do's Iraq and that has only a small fraction of the 70 million inhabitants we would have. If we are willing to live sensibly and poorly so

long as we have freedom, why should the Hindus 'object'? .. The economy will take care of itself in time." It seems, therefore, that Pakistan having no other sources of revenue, and being deprived of the help of the rest of India will have to depend on contributions from the British Exchequer at London. In other words, Pakistan will have to be subservient to Britain like Egypt, Iraq, etc, enjoying independence only in name and not in reality <sup>6</sup>

### Common Doom of Misery :—

The greatest problem of India is not religion but poverty and the solution of the desperate poverty of India's millions is postponed by the stress of religious cleavage. On the contrary the adoption of religion as a basis of political representation stimulates population increase for both the Hindus and the Muslims in their struggle for political power, driving both of them deeper and deeper into the common doom of misery and exploitation.

Indian history and tradition have on the whole largely promoted some kind of a social and cultural unity among peoples of different races and religions. The catholicity of Indian culture is itself responsible for the existence of many communities and religions, of diverse customs and manners that are now being bolstered up into creating these so-called political 'Islands'. Thus any kind of territorial separation of communities like Hindustan, Pakistan, Khalistan or any other 'stan' is bound to create more difficult political and social problems in the future than those which it now seeks to solve. No country in the world has a stronger regional tradition than India and regionalism means here a solidarity of the people on the basis of language, culture and economic interests that unite rather than religion which now has begun to sunder <sup>7</sup>

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In a famous passage on the American Colonies, Burke pointed out that what binds men together is not facts and legal rights and guarantees, but ties of blood and country, of joys and sorrows commonly shared, of the invisible memories that time weaves into the fabric of a peoples' lives. These are the chords that bind men together and ultimately sustain them

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<sup>6</sup> Ansari      Pakistan

<sup>7</sup> Mukerjee

an Economist look at Pakistan

Such invisible chords of blood and memory sustain us also. To millions of Indians all over the country India one and indivisible is not just a geographical fact but an idea with subtle spiritual and emotional overtones. From the peak of Kanchajunga to the waves that lap the shores of Dhanushkoti in every stone and river bed in every nook and corner where the spirit of man has impressed itself upon the spirit of nature the Indian sees the stamp of his national heritage and hears the mysterious music of Hindustan. Hindus and Muslims alike have heard this music and caught its strains in imperishable verse and song. To the strains of that music we have to set our hearts and face the future with hope and confidence.

*[A pamphlet issued by Indian National Congress]*

What a National Muslim says .

# PAKISTAN BURIED IN ASSAM

(By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L.)

Sardar Patel speaks very little, but when he speaks he gives out the plain truth which acts like an atom bomb upon those who thrive on falsehoods and tricks. The imperialistic circle regards him as a terror and the reactionary and communal elements in the country are always afraid of him for his plain speaking. The sword of truth is unwelcome to the weakminded people everywhere. At the last A.I.C.C. meeting held in Bombay when he uttered certain plain truths about Dr Ashrof and Mian Iftikharuddin, the Communists and the Leaguers at once flared up, and began to attack him bitterly. His Bombay utterances were wrongly interpreted, and they began to spread a vile calumny against Sardarji that he had held out a threat to the Moslems of India.

Then came his famous Gujrat speech. It fell like an atom bomb on the League caucus. The Leaguers now began to feel that their houses of cards are very soon going to be dissolved. In the near future nowhere in the country they will get any strong footing. Finding their position insecure they thought that they would hold it to the best by vile threat and mean insinuation. Therefore they could not tolerate the home truths uttered by Sardarji.

I have read and re-read the historic speech of Sardar Patel, but found no trace of anti-Moslim feeling in it. Rather it is full of sound advice and timely warning to those Moslems who are being misled and misguided by the reactionary Moslim Leaguers. The charm of truth is this that it has a bitter sting. It strikes, but does not bite. Sardar Patel's speeches have the magnificence and strength of truth which it is impossible for a Leaguer to tolerate. Our League friends did not find out anything in them. Because the chief strength of the Moslim League lies on false propaganda and appeal to passion, it cares very little for truth. Its weapons are threats and slander and its success rests on goondaism and hooliganism. It is no wonder that the

League circles would be unnerved at the mighty utterances of Sardar Patel

In this article I shall try to show that there is nothing in the speeches of Sardar Patel to which an honest and freedom loving Moslim can take any objection

Addressing a vast gathering at Bombay Sardarji is reported to have said that men like Dr Ashrof and Mian Iftikharuddin who were insisting that the Congress ought to accept the Moslim League as the only representative organisation of the Moslims will have no place in the Congress. If that demand of the League is accepted by the Congress then at once automatically it would be converted into a Hindu organisation. No one with a grain of love for the Congress can allow it to accept such baseless demand of the Moslim League. Sardarji has uttered the plainest thing in the plainest possible way. Whatever be its intrinsic merit how can it be a threat or challenge to the Moslims of India? Do all the Moslims of India belong to the Communist Party or to the Moslim League? Who has given these two worthy sons of India the power of attorney to represent the cause of Moslims in the Congress so that whatever they would say would be the voice of ten crores of Moslims of India? Then why this fuss about Sardar Patel's bold utterances? Sardarji's latest speech at Gujrat has completely unnerved the League leaders. I have read his speech again and again but I found nothing in it to which any exception might be taken.

Sardar Patel has said that the League has captured all the seats in the Central Assembly without any proper contest and it has full right to rejoice over it. How can this statement be regarded as an anti Moslim attitude of Sardar Patel? There is nothing untruth in it. The Congress set up only four candidates out of which two came out successful and lost the other two seats. It is the Nationalist Moslims who fought against the League Moslims and they lost all the seat. That is totally a different thing.

The next most important thing that Sardar Patel said is that after the provincial elections we will have to see where does Pakistan stand and it will not be possible for the League to form ministry any where in the provinces. May I ask what is there in it that might be taken as a specimen of Sardar Patel's

anti-Moslim feeling? The present Central Assembly is constituted on the basis of India Act of 1919. It does not reflect the true opinion of the people. How can one build his hopes and aspirations on the old India Act? It has no representative character. It is only the Provincial Assemblies that somehow or other might reflect the opinion of the people.

Besides, the Provincial Assemblies are endowed with limited power which if properly utilised might do some service to the people. Sardar Patel has rightly observed that the proper trial of strength will be in the Provincial Assemblies. He has truly understood the mind of the Moslim masses and so had been able to predict that in the provincial election the League will not get such success as would enable it to form ministries and so the dream of Pakistrn will not be realised.

It is a great prophecy and thank Allah that his prophecy is going to be fulfilled. In spite of the goondaism and hooliganism the chances of League Ministry in Assam and Sind have gone for ever. The League will meet the same fate in every other province. But we ask why are the Leaguers so much infuriated with Sardar Patel about it. He has told a simple fact which came to be true. Rather they ought to be thankful to him, for giving the Moslim League a warning that they should not build hope on a house of cards. If the Leaguers cannot tolerate their opponents and cannot hear a word from them, then they ought not to enter politics at all.

The most important part of Sardarji's speech to which the League leaders have taken strong objection is his unequivocal declaration that the Congress is no longer going to seek co-operation of the Moslim League. Here is the relevant part of his speech — "The Congress had attempted several times in the past to come to a settlement with the League. But on account of the obstinacy of Mr Jinnah it did not achieve any success. Henceforward the Congress would no longer go to the Moslim League until the League changes its policy."

But I ask the Moslims to consider this part of Sardar Patel's speech in the light of fact and reason. Whenever there was any talk of compromise, it was the Congress that always took the initiative. Did not Dr Rajendra Prasad write to Mr Jannah again and again to settle the communal problem with the Congress? Practically several terms of settlement were ready for acceptance by both the parties, the Congress and the League.



But Mr Jinnah's eleventh hour term that the Hindu Mahasabha must also sign it broke down the entire settlement. Mahatma Gandhi made several attempts to make a compromise with Mr Jinnah. But it was Mr Jinnah who added new terms and thus spoilt all chances of settlement. Then Pandit Nehru and Sjt Subhas Chandra Bose made several attempts to arrive at a settlement with Mr Jinnah. A date was fixed when Pandit Nehru and Mr Jinnah were to meet together to discuss points of disputes. But all of a sudden Mr Jinnah announced his intention to observe the Day of deliverance and thanks giving, and thus broke down the negotiations.

Then after the famous August movement Gandhi again made a fresh attempt to make a settlement with Moslim League and this time also Mr Jinnah failed to take advantage of the generous offer made to him by Gandhi. After all these events can any one blame the Congress leaders if they refuse to approach Mr Jinnah or any League leaders and for the settlement of communal problem? It is now the turn of the League leaders to take the initiative and if they fail in it they are to be held responsible and not the Congress?

In fact Sardar Patel has given out the true feelings of a Congressman. It is no threat to the League. It is rather a warning to them that this sort of shilly shallying will no longer be tolerated. As regards Pakistan Sardar Patel has rightly told the League leaders that the Congress will not be a party to it. If the Moslim League wants Pakistan they must fight for it and die for it. How can any objection be taken to it passes our comprehension. The League leaders are declaring from hundred platforms that they must get Pakistan by struggle and sacrifice. Sardar Patel did not say anything new. What harm is there that if he has repeated the same old thing and reminded the Leaguwallahs that they won't get Pakistan by quarrelling with the Hindus?—but fighting with the British. Unless they fight with the British, how can they expect to get Pakistan?

It is not in the hands of the Hindus that by merely passing resolutions they can partition India according to the senseless whims of Mr Jinnah. Mr Jinnah should know that it is not the partition of India that is of urgent necessity to-day rather it is the transference of power from a foreign ruler to the people of India that is the real solution of many of our ills and troubles.

I congratulate Sardar Patel for his boldness and sincerity. He has expressed the true feelings of a nationalist Moslim. The nationalist Moslims were insisting on the Congress leaders again and again that they should leave Mr. Jinnah alone. At last wisdom has dawned upon them that they have decided not to approach the League any longer. If they stick to this point and refuse to have any deal with the League, the entire fabric of the League will be broken to pieces.

[*Hindustan Standard*]

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As an Englishman sees it

## INDIA'S TWO NATIONS

(By Mr H N Brailsford)

The severest critics of British rule concede that it has brought one indisputable gain to India. It gave it one system of defence and made of it a single area of international trade. How much of all this can survive if Mr Jinnah achieves his goal and carves out of India his sovereign independent, Muslim State of Pakistan. In this dangerous world it is inevitable that we should scrutinise this project closely from the standpoint of India's safety and our own. If Pakistan and Hindustan were to follow distinct and it might be contrary foreign policies a new factor of danger and discord would be introduced into the affairs of Asia. Pakistan would gravitate towards the Muslim States of the Middle East while Hindustan would look to the East. Each in so doing must adjust itself in its own way to the orbits of the three dominant Great Powers.

This problem is complicated by the geographical peculiarity of Pakistan as Mr Jinnah has conceived it. The Muslim population of Northern India is concentrated in two solid areas but between the North Western area and Eastern Bengal stretches a predominantly Hindu region that measures nearly a thousand miles. How these two separated fragments of Pakistan could concert their mutual defence unless Hindustan were their intimate ally is the first of several puzzles that confront us. Facing North and West with Afghanistan and the Soviet Union as its neighbours, Pakistan would have in its keeping the gates of the whole Indian Peninsula. Could it alone bear the financial weight of this burden which hitherto has fallen on all India? Again while this North Western region includes in its population several traditionally martial races its economic potentiality is negligible. It is a rich agricultural region but it has and can have no heavy industry of its own. For that Hindustan alone possesses the necessary raw materials and the technical development.

It is clear then that Pakistan could not stand on its own feet as an isolated strategical unit. Nor would its economic plight be enviable if it were to weaken or sever the economic

The other implication of a democratic constitution is the fundamental unity and integrity of the country or the nation enjoying the blessing of the constitution. Where this unity is wanting there can be no constitution to the support of which the different parties pledge themselves. Even federation implies national unity, super-imposed upon lesser territorial units. Two countries can have some kind of union by means of treaty or under an irresponsible ruler who is also irremovable, except through a revolution. Treaties can combine two countries only for specifically defined common objects. They do not create a common constitution or citizenship. On the other hand a union created through an irremovable and irresponsible ruler as the union of Austria and Hungary under the Hapsburgs, is not democratic constitutional union. There is no common citizenship but common subjection. A democratic constitution therefore implies unity and a common citizenship howsoever brought about.

Sometimes parties in a democracy drop for the time being their exclusive programme and unite to face a common danger or emergency. So far as meeting the emergency is concerned there are no fundamental differences between the parties. All national resources and talents are needed to meet it. It is then that joint cabinets or coalition or national governments are formed. There is no real opposition. All parties are pledged to support the government. Such governments are emergency governments. A permanent coalition or national government would be inconsistent with democracy. A national or coalition government is therefore a democratic device to meet emergencies. It implies (1) democracy (2) unity and (3) respect for the fundamentals of the constitution by the parties forming the national government.

Let us see if the advocates of national government in India, to meet the present emergency quite understand and realize these implications if they are not confusing national government with the government of Indians however formed. The two major parties that would form the national government are the Indian National Congress and the Moslim League. Does the Muslim League believe in Indian democracy? Mr Jinnah has often said that India (if the word has any meaning when he uses it) is not suited for democracy. According to him any democratic rule in India would mean Hindu rule. Therefore he is against the transfer of power to an Indian Government. If the League does not believe in democracy it believes as little in unity. It frankly stands for the theory of two nations. Carried to its logical conclusion it is not a two but a

multiple nation theory But it is not our purpose to discuss here the truth wisdom or the practicability of this theory All that we are concerned with here is that the second necessary condition for the formation of a national government that of national unity and common citizenship is absent

Is the third condition respect for the fundamentals of the constitution under which the national government will be formed and will function present The Government of India does not work under a democratic constitution It is an autocracy whose very centre of authority is outside India The Indian government is a subordinate branch of the British Government It is a municipal government having some limited specified delegated powers Those powers are exercised by a periodically appointed autocratic head He does not share whatever delegated power he has with the representatives of the people However important the Viceroy may appear to vulgar gaze he is after all the head of the Civil Service therefore one of them Few ambitious English politicians would care for the job

If the League does not believe in democracy and unity the Congress at least does not believe in the present constitution It is therefore that the Congress has always demanded complete independence as a condition precedent for the formation of a national government This independence may be created by a treaty or an act or brought about by convention as in the case of British colonies However brought about it must be free and independent in its working and not remain a branch of the British Government It was therefore natural for Cripps negotiations to fail on this hard rock of transfer of real power The test of this under present circumstances was the transfer of the Defence portfolio The Government fully understood the implication of the Congress demand It was prepared to part with everything but not this It was wise from its own viewpoint

Let us however examine how this so called national government which will neither be based upon democracy nor unity nor even upon respect of the constitution under which it will function work in practice Supposing in this monstrosity unknown to the constitution history Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr Jinnah are cojoined in an unholy wedlock of a cabinet How will they function say in the field of army recruitment? Naturally Pt Jawaharlal will appeal in the name of India for which he has worked and sacrificed his all and for which before him his father of revered memory worked suffered and laid down his life He will appeal in the name of the common

culture that has produced even in the Middle Ages, some marvels in literature, philosophy, painting, music and architecture. He will talk with equal pride of the southern temples as of the Taj. In the name of what will the appeal of Mr Jinnah go out? In the name of Pakistan to come? What common accomplishments in any cultural field can he point to? Even the Taj will be outside the contemplated Pakistan? He will of course appeal as we know with deadly effect, in the name of an undefined word and idea which while exciting passions will not create unity. Politicians do not occupy positions in a Cabinet only to direct contemporary events. They have an eye to future possibilities. Pt Jawaharlal would like to cultivate his constituency and Mr Jinnah his own. The former will put forth all his energy for a free and united India, the latter for the Pakistan to be. They will talk with a double tongue in their propaganda meetings. They will find it impossible to address audience from a common platform. Their future plans being divergent and conflicting and their present policy will also be highly coloured by their plans for the future. We shall have to look and look in vain for united lead, a national clarion call which alone can rouse the nation, to put its all against an invading enemy.

It is therefore that Gandhiji wants the British to quit before any really national government can be formed. He is not unmindful that in the interval there may be confusion and chaos but that may not last long and what will then emerge will be a true Hindu-Muslim unity upon the basis of which a truly national government may be formed, unhampered by British wirepulling.

What Congress General Secretary says

## NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

(By Acharya J B Kripalani)

The meaning of words in constant use is supposed to be known. Nobody therefore bothers to analyse them. Recently the term national government has been in such constant use that it is taken for granted that its meaning and significance are known. However a little political analysis will show that the term is being too loosely used.

National government in modern time is associated with democracy and democratic political parties. Autocratic rule by a native king or dictator or an oligarchy will not to day be called a national government. The Government of India run by Indians may or may not be a coalition or a national government in the constitutional sense. In a democracy the task of governance is performed by a group or party commanding majority vote in a house of national representatives democratically chosen. The party or parties that do not command this majority in the nation's parliament remain in opposition. The majority party conducting the government may come to lose its majority and the erstwhile minority may command the majority. The opposition then becomes the government and the former government the opposition. Both the government and the opposition are the essence of democracy. In England the government is called His Majesty's Government and the opposition His Majesty's Opposition.

Certain implications arise out of this alternate rule and subjection in a democracy. The first is that the various parties accept the basic principles, the fundamentals of the constitution. This does not mean that the constitution cannot be changed but that it can only be changed by means provided therein. It may not be changed by extra constitutional or revolutionary action. This for a very good reason. Democracy rules by counting and not breaking heads. Revolutionary parties do not bother about majorities and minorities. They believe in direct action for the capture of power to be utilised to bring about revolutionary changes.

ties that link it to-day with the industries and markets of Hindu India. If the Muslims of these two regions cannot bring themselves to enter an All-Indian Federal Union, their safety and their welfare seem to require at least a common foreign policy, a close military alliance and a customs union with Hindustan.

The case for Pakistan is psychological. No one who has watched these bitter elections can fail to realise that the Muslims are bent on setting up in India a State which they will control and shape as a reflection of their own way of life. Mr. Jinnah's thesis that there are two distinct nations in India is an exaggeration of the platform. By descent most Indian Muslims are converts from Hinduism, and the villagers among them retain much of their inherited outlook and speak in their homes the same languages as their Hindu neighbours. But it would be equally false to argue that as yet a single Indian nation exists. Western education has done much to create it and the common opposition to alien rule has done more. But the Hindu institution of caste, with all the obstacles to social intercourse it involves, is still, though it is decaying rapidly, a deadly obstacle to unity. At railway stations Hindus and Muslims, packed together in overcrowded trains, must still drink from separate water-taps, and even in the modern luxury of New Delhi there are separate restaurants in the Legislative Assembly for the members of the two creeds. On the other side of the barrier, Hindus are aware that Muslims have not wholly lost their traditions of conquest. As modern life flings the two peoples together, the bar on intermarriage makes many domestic tragedies.

More decisive, however, than this social tension is the Muslim fear of the economic ascendancy of the Hindus. The Muslims were much slower in welcoming Western education and they are painfully conscious of their backwardness. The Hindus, with the Parsees, come near to monopolising banking, insurance and large-scale industry. This is no new fact, for the Mogul Emperors always relied on Hindus as their Finance Ministers. The Islamic prohibition of interest is part of the explanation, but the broad fact is that wealthy Muslims are usually feudal magnates, who invest their surplus not in industry but in land. Muslims complain bitterly that Hindu banks rarely employ a Muslim clerk, and they can point to a city which contains eighty cotton mills where not one Muslim manager is to be found, though a third of the workers are Muslims. British policy has tried to correct this inequality by fixing a ratio in the



public services which must be reserved for Muslim candidates. The level of efficiency has suffered in consequence. Even more dubious is the principle now adopted that no licences shall be issued to new Hindu industrial concerns until a due proportion of Muslim undertakings has been approved.

From this inferior position Muslims see in Pakistan a way of escape. The expedient they favour is to build up an ambitious structure of socialised industries and banks which are to be run mainly by Muslims, scanty though their experience may be. This idea has been fostered by the curious working alliance which now links the Communists with the Muslim League. Capital has no religion not even on the banks of the Ganges nor is there any evidence that Hindu financiers promote Hindu communal interests. But they do tend to employ their own kinsmen and friends. That fact together with the technical backwardness of the Muslims made a foundation on which it was easy for propaganda to foster among the Muslims a night mare dread of Hindu economic power.

This dread accounts for the rejection by the Muslims of a federal solution, when they face the fact that Hindus outnumber them by three to one. Here they are the victims of illusion. On few if any of the real issues of daily life in India—the battle with illiteracy the struggle with malaria and malnutrition the problem of the slums the elimination of the functionless landlord irrigation and the rest—are men divided by their creeds. The Muslim peasants and workers have the same interests as their Hindu neighbours. But ranged as they have been for forty years in separate electorates based upon religion the interests which unite them have been obscured and their communal divisions have become an obsession. Once that fatal decision to classify them by religion for political purposes was taken by their British rulers the theory of the Two Nations was a logical consequence and Pakistan the natural conclusion. Since Muslims cannot, as such consent to be voted down by Hindus any federal constitution based on majority decisions had to be rejected. In vain do the Congress offer every conceivable legal safeguard for the rights of minorities in vain does it offer to any discontented province within the Federation the right of secession—a formidable counter with which to bargain. There will be no federation so long as Mr. Jinnah retains his absolute control over the main body of the Muslims.

Of the prospects of a Muslim Hindu agreement I do not find it easy to think hopefully. Neither in my own first hand

impressions of Mr Jinnah's mood and personality nor in his public utterances can I find any hint of a readiness to compromise. He has said so flatly that he would not enter any interim National Government that is hard to see how he could unsay it. He has made it equally clear that the Muslim League will not enter any All-India Constitution-making body. Pakistan will set up its own Constituent Assembly, but, before that, its frontiers must first be drawn. My guess is that Mr Jinnah expects the British Government to draw them. That will be for any arbiters bold enough to undertake it, a task of excessive difficulty. Can Pakistan exist without the Frontier Province? Yet this solidly Muslim province has just confirmed its Congress Ministry in office by a comfortable majority. Would East Bengal, an impoverished Muslim region be capable of independent life if it were separated from the great port of Calcutta and the industrial region of Western Bengal? But their populations are by decisive majorities Hindu. In justice to Sikhs and Hindus it is equally clear that the Punjab, the core and focus of Pakistan, would have to be divided. The remnant that would be left on any impartial findings would bear little resemblance to the mighty Muslim State, Mr Jinnah's followers have imagined. Would they take it on these terms? And if not, would they resist?

So the argument turns in a circle. When we realise that the fear is the parent of Pakistan, it follows that only an act of generosity could remove it. The wisest course that Congress could take might be, by a magnanimous gesture, to offer Pakistan to the Muslims. This, after its successes in the elections, it could do with a good grace. Unfortunately, it would have to burden its offer with conditions that destroy its psychological value. It would have to insist on arbitration, presumably by an international commission for the drawing up of the frontiers. It would expect, even if it did not demand, an agreement on defence, communications and customs. In other words it might regretfully consent to divide India restoring its effective unity by a series of agreements on matters of common interest. But dare it act in this big way?

Men's tempers are rising and the threats of revolt are coming now from the Muslim League, as well as from Congress. It has been in the past an intensely respectable and law abiding body. Mr Jinnah is a lawyer who believes in constitutional methods. His leading supporters are feudal magnates, who are not of the type that risks imprisonment. But during the war the League expanded into a mass organisation, and in districts

it has been permeated by the Communists. They are not hampered by any inhibitions and manifestly they are driving the Muslim masses towards direct action. This is happening under the shadow of famine the Government has cut rations to the level of bare survival 1500 calories - or below it. Such drastic measures may be necessary but they could be enforced only by a representative National Government that had the masses behind it. Prestige and moral authority the nominated Government lacks entirely and no one believes in its efficiency. I am sure that the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi will be used for peace. None the less it is a potentially revolutionary situation that confronts us and a solution must be found not in months but in weeks. In this stricken land the two nations that chiefly concern us are its hungry masses the hated few —

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What Congress President says

## HARMFUL TO MUSLIMS

*Text of a statement issued on April 15 1946*

By Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

I have considered from every possible point of view the scheme of Pakistan as formulated by the Muslim League. As an Indian, I have examined its implications for the future of India as a whole. As a Muslim, I have examined its likely effects upon the fortunes of Muslims of India. Considering the scheme in all its aspects, I have come to the conclusion that it is harmful not only for India as a whole, but also for Muslims in particular, and, in fact, it creates more problems than it solves.

"I must confess that the very term Pakistan goes against my grain. It suggests that some portions of India are pure while others are impure. Such a division of territories into pure and impure is un-Islamic and is more in keeping with orthodox Brahminism which divides men and countries into holy and unholy—a division which is a repudiation of the very spirit of Islam. Islam recognises no such division and the Prophet says 'God has made the whole world a mosque for me'."

Further, it seems that the scheme of Pakistan is a symbol of defeatism and has been built upon the analogy of the Jewish demand for a national home. It is a confession that Indian Muslims cannot hold their own in India as a whole and would be content to withdraw to a corner specially reserved for them. One can sympathise with the aspiration of the Jews for such a national home, as they are scattered all over the world and cannot in any region, have any effective voice in its administration. The condition of Indian Muslims is quite otherwise. Over 90 millions in number, they are, in quantity and quality, a sufficiently important element in Indian life to influence decisively all questions of administration and policy. Nature has further helped them by concentrating them in certain areas. In such a context, the demand for Pakistan loses all force. As a Muslim, I, for one, am not prepared for a moment to give up my right to treat the whole of India as my domain and

to share in the shaping of its political and economic life. To me it seems a sure sign of cowardice to give up what is my patrimony and content myself with a mere fragment of it.

As is well known, Mr Jinnah's Pakistan scheme is based on his two nation theory. His thesis is that India contains many nationalities based on religious differences. Of them the two major nations the Hindus and Muslims must as separate nations have separate States. When Dr Edward Thompson once pointed out to Mr Jinnah that Hindus and Muslims live side by side in thousands of Indian towns, villages and hamlets, Mr Jinnah replied that this in no way affected their separate nationality. Two nations according to Mr Jinnah confront one another in every hamlet, village and town and he therefore desires that they should be separated into two States.

I am prepared to overlook all other aspects of the problem and judge it from the point of view of Muslim interests alone. I shall go still further and say that if it can be shown that the scheme of Pakistan can in any way benefit Muslims as such, I would be prepared to accept it myself and also to work for its acceptance by others. But the truth is that even if I examine the scheme from the point of view of the communal interests of the Muslims themselves, I am forced to the conclusion that it can in no way benefit them or allay their legitimate fears.

Let us consider dispassionately the consequences which will follow if we give effect to the Pakistan scheme. India will be divided into two States, one with a majority of Muslims and the other of Hindus. In the Hindu State there will remain 3½ crores of Muslims scattered in small minorities all over the land. With 17 per cent in U.P., 12 per cent in Bihar and 9 per cent in Madras they will be weaker than they are today in the Hindu majority provinces. They have had their homelands in these regions for almost a thousand years and built up the most well known centres of Muslim culture and civilisation there.

They will awaken overnight and discover that they have become aliens and foreigners. Backward industrially, educationally and economically, they will be left to the mercies of what would become an unadulterated Hindu Raj.

On the other hand, their position within the Pakistan State will be vulnerable and weak. Nowhere in Pakistan will their majority be comparable to the Hindu majority

in the Hindustan State 'In fact, their majority will be so slight that it will be offset by the economical, educational and political lead enjoyed by non-Muslims in these areas. Even if this were not so and Pakistan were overwhelmingly Muslim in population, it still could hardly solve the problem of Muslims in Hindustan. Two States confronting one another offer no solution of the problem of one another's minorities, but only lead to retribution and reprisals by introducing a system of 'mutual hostages. The scheme of Pakistan therefore, solves no problem for the Muslims. It cannot safeguard their rights where they are in a minority nor as citizens of Pakistan, secure them a position in Indian or world affairs which they would enjoy as citizens of a major State like the Indian Union.

It may be argued that if Pakistan is so much against the interests of the Muslims themselves, why should such a large section of Mussalmans be swept away by its lure? The answer is to be found in the attitude of certain communal extremists among the Hindus. When the Muslim League began to speak of Pakistan, they read into the scheme a sinister pan-Islamic conspiracy and began to oppose it out of fear that it foreshadowed a combination of Indian Muslims with trans-Indian Muslim States. The opposition acted as an incentive to the adherents of the League. With simple, though untenable logic, they argued that if Hindus were so opposed to Pakistan, surely it must be of benefit to Muslims. An atmosphere of emotional frenzy was created which made reasonable appraisal impossible and swept away especially the younger and more impressionable among the Muslims. I have, however, no doubt that when the present frenzy has died down and the question can be considered dispassionately, those who now support Pakistan will themselves repudiate it as harmful for Muslim interests.

The formula which I have succeeded in making the Congress to accept secures whatever merit the Pakistan scheme contains, while all its defects and drawbacks are avoided. The basis of Pakistan is the fear of interference by the Centre in Muslim majority areas as the Hindu will be in a majority in the Centre. The Congress meets this fear by granting full autonomy to the provincial units and vesting all residuary power in the Provinces. It also has provided for two lists of central subjects one compulsory and one optional so that if any provincial unit so wants, it

can so wants it can administer all subjects itself except a minimum delegated to the Centre. The Congress scheme therefore ensures that Muslim majority provinces are internally free to develop as they will but can at the same time influence the Centre on all issues which affect India as a whole.

The situation in India is such that all attempts to establish a centralised and unitary Government are bound to fail. Equally doomed to failure is the attempt to divide India into two States. After considering all aspects of the question I have come to the conclusion that the only solution can be on the lines embodied in the Congress formula which allows room for development both to the Provinces and to India as a whole. The Congress formula meets the fears of the Muslim majority areas to allay which the scheme of Pakistan was formed. On the other hand it avoids the defects of the Pakistan scheme which would bring the Muslims where they are in a minority under a purely Hindu Government.

I am one of those who consider the present chapter of communal bitterness and differences as a transient phase in Indian life. I firmly hold that they will disappear when India assumes the responsibility of her own destiny. I am reminded of a saying of Mr Gladstone that the best cure for a man's fear of the water was to throw him into it for he would then learn to swim and realise that it is not so dangerous as it had seemed to his imagination. Similarly India must assume responsibility and administer her own affairs. When India attains her destiny she will forget the present chapter of communal suspicion and conflict and face the problems of modern life from a modern point of view.

Differences will no doubt persist but they will be economic, not communal. Opposition among political parties will continue but they will be based not on religion but on economic and political issues. Class and not community will be the basis of future alignments and policies will be shaped accordingly. If it be argued that this is only a faith which events may not justify I would say that in any case the nine crores of Muslims constitute a factor which nobody can ignore and whatever the circumstances they are strong enough to safeguard their own destiny.

What an Executive Councillor says

## PERIL TO SAFETY OF INDIA

By Dr. M. R. Jaykar

On April 12, Dr. M. R. Jayakar gave at Delhi an exposition of the case against Pakistan and explained the substitute for it put forward by the Sapru Report, of which he is one of the authors.

Dr. Jayakar quoted Lord Morley's statement in 1886 in conceding separate electorates "We are scwing the dragon's teeth," said Lord Morley "The harvest will be bitter" "The harvest has been bitter." Dr. Jayakar commented, instancing some of the speeches made at the recent Muslim Legislators' Convention.

The remedy, he suggested, was recommended by the Sapru Report, to give Muslims, who were 23 per cent of the population and Caste-Hindus, who were 54 per cent, complete equality in the Constitution-making Body, in the Central Legislature and in the Cabinet, with the proviso that there should be joint electorates

Tracing the League's demand for Pakistan, Dr. Jayakar said the very basis on which the claim was based was said to be the domination of the Hindus as represented by the Congress. This claim, he said, had a very rapid and luxuriant growth within three months. The Congress took office in July 1937 and some time in October the same year, Mr. Jinnah made a speech that the Hindus had dominated the Muslims and that Muslim interests had been sacrificed by the Government and further the Centre and Governors of the Provinces were helping the Congress. Two years later, in October 1939, the Congress President offered to refer the points at dispute to an Independent Committee, presided over by Sir Maurice Gwyer, the then Chief Justice of India. Mr. Jinnah rejected the offer and wanted a Royal Commission and it was stated that the Viceroy did not accept it.

More or less during the same period, Lord Linlithgow made two speeches, in which he declared that the administration of the Provinces was very satisfactory, and he complimented all the Ministries. The alleged Hindu domination which had been repeatedly raised had not been proved



Asked if he suggested there was a tie up between those who claimed Pakistan and Russia Dr Jayakar replied that he was not suggesting that

Sir N Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir Jagdish Prasad were present at the Conference Sir Gopalaswami explaining the economic implications of Pakistan said that much of the prosperity of Sind was due to the barrage which was constructed by the Centre Sind had no financial troubles just now but that was because of the war time and inflationary prosperity

In Congress Leader's eyes :—

# UNITY VERSUS VIVISECTION

By Dr. Syed Mahmud

The stoic indifference, if not resentful helplessness, which marks the general attitude of the Indian masses towards the serious news of aerial attacks on India and the coming foreign invasion should be regarded as the most disconcerting fact of the Indian situation to-day. There was a keen desire in the country to participate whole-heartedly in the war, but thanks to the powers that be, it has been allowed to consume itself in bitter frustration. The situation has reached a stage when the apportionment of blame will help nobody, neither India, nor the cause of the United Nations. Something has to be done, and done without a moment's delay. The British Government tries to maintain that it has done its best, and the leaders of the people assert that they have left nothing undone to find a way out of the present situation. The failure of these efforts has only aggravated the situation, and no earthly good can be secured by a campaign of recrimination. If the doors of National Power and freedom are barred, the way to internal unity is wide open, and there is no reason why we should not address ourselves to that task. In the gloomiest hour, if united, we can face our perils with fortitude in the hope of surviving our ordeals.

It is said that Pakistan is the stumbling block in the way of national unity. Let us examine this question in a dispassionate manner.

No country is so clearly separated from others by geographical features and so markedly intended by nature to be a single geographical unit as India. The recurring note of the past and the goal of the strivings of her people in its history has been political unification. The Mauryan, Gupta, Khilji, Tughlak and Mughal empires have been but endeavours towards its realisation.

Geography and History are strengthened by economic and military needs and forces. Our resources in raw materials and minerals are so distributed as to make all parts of the country inter-dependent. Bihar, Chhota Nagpur and the Deccan are rich in iron, coal, manganese and other metals, while the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal are granaries of wheat, rice

and other agricultural products C P Berar and Gujerat are rich in cotton. One region supplements the other. In isolation each will be insufficient and weak.

The present war has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that there are no frontiers at which an enemy may be halted. An entire sub continent or a continent may become the battle field in which the total effort of the entire people has to be fully employed. Small nations like Poland with its three crores, Czech Slovakia with nearly two, Holland and Belgium about one crore each have no chance against big powers. No independent State on the North West or on the North East of India will have the ghost of a chance of retaining its freedom against the invasion of a first class power from the west or the east. Indeed it will be a task of immense difficulty for India as a whole unaided by other great powers to offer successful resistance to such an invader. Imagine the condition of Bengal to day if it were a separate and entirely independent unit or of the N W F P, Punjab and Sind even if acting in alliance with Afghanistan and Iran—if Russia did not bar the progress of the Axis armies.

Mere war time co operation in the task of defence is not a practicable proposition. The preparation of defence will involve not merely a collaboration of armies, navies and air forces but collaboration in the fields of finance, industry, transport and in fact the entire resources of all the units under a joint and common control.

It will therefore be impossible for the North Western and North Eastern Muslim States to attain economic self sufficiency and develop enough political and military power to enable them to resist the pressure of external foes. How will they then fare in this competitive world in the matter of international trade and protection of the rights of their citizens? These provinces have no mineral deposits worth the name. No industry can flourish there without the aid of the other Indian provinces. Pakistan even in alliance with Afghanistan and Iran is clearly therefore an illusion. It is an impracticable proposition. It is against the interest of the Mussalmans themselves. No farseeing statesman can doubt the fact that the Mussalmans will refuse to be so isolated.

In their zeal to oppose the partition of the country, some of us have not paused to examine the Muslim League Pakistan. This name was originally given to a scheme of partition with

exchange of population by Choudhry Rahmat Ali many years ago, while he was a student in Cambridge. And curiously enough, Bhai Parmananda's autobiography, which he wrote during his incarceration in the Andamans over a quarter of century ago, contains a similar proposal for segregating the Mussalmans. The Muslim League's Lahore resolution was liberally christened by a strong section of the Press as the Pakistan resolution. Several months after Mr. Jinnah also referred to "Our scheme, popularly known as Pakistan."

Now, this name is fully associated with the Muslim League scheme, although the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal have refused to accept the label. The Muslim League scheme is certainly not the Pakistan of Choudhry Rahmat Ali's conception. So far as one can interpret it unaided by any authoritative spokesman of the Muslim League, it seeks to adopt Sir Sikan-der's zonal scheme in a modified form. The central idea of the scheme hinges on the creation of two federal Unions of the early Canadian model, with treaty obligations which is Mr. Jinnah's favourite idea. In this scheme the provinces are being linked up into two federations independent of each other and a confederation visualised with powers delegated to it by the two federations. If this interpretation of the Muslim League scheme is correct its consideration on merits need not be ruled out as a basis for discussion. Its flaws and drawbacks can be exposed at a joint consideration, and it can be modified, rejected, or replaced by a more acceptable and workable scheme by common consent. I offer this suggestion with a clear conscience because I am against the partition of India.

If the insistence of the Muslim League on the recognition of the right of a considerable section of the Indian population to self-determination is based on fear and suspicion, what can India less by making a determined endeavour to roll away the dark clouds of distrust?

After all, it is for the leaders of the major sections of India's population both Hindu and Muslim, whose concern it is to guide the destiny of the country as a whole, to find a way—in spite of obvious difficulties—of dispelling one another's suspicion and fear as also of every other section of the population.

Similarly, it must be noted by the leaders of the league that any demands which are not just and reasonable, even if conceded under pressure, will not in the long run profit even the Mussalmans. What will a community have gained if a sense of frustration and outstanding grievance continue to rankle in the

hearts of the others. It is inconceivable that any one community in India could gain independence for itself and it is equally, inconceivable that independence so gained could be retained for any length of time. If the Hindus and Muslim are ranged in opposite camps they will only reinforce each other's weakness.

Wisdom demands that Nationalist India should adopt a bold policy to heal the lacerations and obliterate the differences in order that the happiness and prosperity of the country may be established on sure foundations.

We must stop our wordy warfare and cease to blame this or that leader. A truce should be unequivocally declared during this critical period of our history. Unless we do that we shall never be able to face the enemy to day or to morrow either with the violent or non violent method. Even if under the crushing stress of world events we cannot reach a final understanding we must bring about a truce among the different communities of India for the duration of the war. Who knows that it will not be the stepping stone to a lasting agreement?

The Congress President has already given a bold lead at the session of the All India Congress Committee at Allahabad that he would call a meeting of the Congress Working Committee with a view to appointing representatives to carry on negotiations with the Muslim League if the latter body will show its willingness to do the same. If this is done the basis for a truce can be found.

If all are united we can quickly develop the power of resisting the invader with all our might and also the energy and strength to fight the mentality of fatalistic indifference which is dangerously growing in us out of sheer helplessness.

We are to day passing through terribly critical times and it raises problems for India whose solution will affect for better or for worse the destiny of millions of human beings inhabiting this great land. If we are united we can face the world with the assurance of emerging from this turmoil with our head high and our dignity enhanced. If on the other hand we fail to hold together we may remain for a long time the slaves of any power that may prevail. We see all round us the ruin and destruction that hatred breeds. But love never fails. It hides within it the great secret of life and creation.

'Tis something in the dearth of fame  
Though linked among a fettered race  
To feel at least a patriot's shame  
Even as I sing suffuse my face  
For what is left the poet here?  
For Indians ablush—For India a tear

Sindhi Professor's view.

## PAKISTAN AND SIND

(By Prof Jeth Mal Parsram)

Mr Jinnah with the help of Mr. G. M. Syed established Pakistan in Sind, simultaneously with the Pakistan resolution passed in the Sind Assembly, the only Assembly in India which has done it. A huge procession in honour of the memory of Mohmed-bin-Kassim, the Arabic General, marched on the Bander Road of Karachi in military style, high humped gurgling camels and neighing horses prancing on the pavement, with many colourful and exuberant scenes enacted on the way. Thus Pakistan was established in Sind, and latter on the overthrow of the Ghulam Hussain Government, a Pakistan League Government was duly established. Sir Ghulam Hussain not only lost his Government, but was restricted for five years, by Mr. Jinnah's orders from the League.

I want to emphasise here the fact, that the Hindus of Sind actively helped this Government, co-operated in all possible ways not prejudicially affected by the name of "Pakistan", for Mr Jinnah had declared that the very principle of Pakistan was preservation of the rights of the minorities. I and our group of friends were among the supporters

What has followed during the period both for the majority and the minority communities is now known to every body. I am not here referring to troubles due to war, but actions of the Muslim League ministers, the same, who now rule the roast, and cry "Pakistan Zindabad" at Dehli. My assertion is that the conditions of the Muslim masses under the suzerainty of the League Zamindars of the Sind who form the back-bone of the League, is horrible beyond words. This condition of the Muslim masses, under the present League Rulers, and the unheard of actions of the ministers has been given expression to by staunch Leaguers themselves as the present President of the Sind Muslim League, Mr Gazder after the rustication of Mr G. M. Syed the past president

This is about the majority. The case of the minority community is also altogether pitiable. If there is no safety for

the Muslim majority how can there be one for the Hindu minority? As regards the rights of the minority under the new administration every effort has been to deprive the minority of both its economical and cultural rights

### A arabisation of Sindhi

While nobody has raised objection to the advancement of Muslim education encouraging of Arabic etc open Government operations in the Educational Department are going on to arabicise even the present pronunciation in the Sindhi language to the utter consternation of even Muslim scholars and lovers of Sindhi so dear to the people. Sindhi is a purely Sanskrit language greatly enriched no doubt by Arabic and Persian. There is however no case on record where a Government can order a change in pronunciation

### Land Rights

Legislation which was actually passed in the Assembly called the Sind Alienation Act, whose object was not to give relief to the 30 lacs population of serfs in Sind 22 lacs landless 8 lacs with uneconomic holdings but the entire motive was to benefit the Zamindars two thousand of whom from the total number of 2 lacs and 80 thousands holders of land own two thirds or so of the entire land of Sind. The main object of the Act was to deprive the 11 lacs people of minority community not even to own a minimum unit for land cultivation being in the act declared as non agriculturists. Such was the utter enormity of the offensive Act that the Governor had to exercise his special powers to annul it. I wish to say here that Mr Jinnah or his High Command clean forget the Pakistan basis of the rights of minority on the contrary his speeches in Karachi at Ram Bagh created the impression that not only there was any question of minority rights but the minorities had to shift to other land leaving the Home land to Mr Jinnah

### Sufistic Sind

I have given the above facts not as a Hindu or non Muslim a designation assigned to me under the 1935 Act for which I am by in no way responsible. I am by my convictions a Sindhi Sufi. Sind is known as the land of the Sufis and a Sufi in the words of the greatest poet of Sind Shah Abdul Latif revered by all Hindus and Muslims without exception is a Na Kufi one who observes no

distinction of race, caste or creed. A Sufi does not believe only in institutional religion. I am able to say that the faith of generally both Hindus and Muslims of Sind is "Sufi" and this sufism of Sind is neither a specially Muslim article nor a Hindu variety, it is an indigenous product, the result of the Historic and cultural fusions in Sind, through which have come over a dozen races from Western Asia, and Eastern Europe, and passed not only into India, but beyond, long long before the Arabs came.

The experiment of fusion performed in the Laboratory called Sindh, has resulted as "Sind Sufism which later travelled into India and further into Java etc. The ancient Aryan branches of culture the Sanskrit, Iranian Zarthustrian, Greek, the Buddhist, the Arabic the later Persian, have all produced what is called 'Sindhī Sufism'. The great builders of Akbar's Empire Shaikh Mubarak a Sindhī of Shikhan. My land had produced a hundred Sufi poets and Scholars, Hindus and Muslims before the Britisher placed his foot on the soil of Sind.

I am talking of today, that the vast population of Sindhī Muslim peasants especially in middle and southern Sind are followers of Sufis and will declare themselves as such if given opportunity to do, know this, as I am a founder of the peasant "Hari Haqdar" movement, along with Shaikh Abul Majid.

The people of Sind—which is unfortunately being scandalised by more than one political party, have had no Hindu-Muslim quarrels as such, except in the North of Sind due to recent movements imported from the North of India, and the new separatist policy adopted by the Britishers during the last 25 year.

### A Warning

Let those people who wish to divide this ancient land take note of the fact, that supposing Pakistan became possible—which to me is impossible then ever Sind will have to be sub-divided for the district of Karachi including 60 thousand Makranis a fledgling population from Makran, the District connected from Jati to Nagarparkar, adjoining the Rajput territory itself a Rajput one, and the middle part of Hyderabad district connected with Karachi have a majority of Hindu population. Let it also be taken note of that the generality of the Hindu population of Sind are followers of Guru Nanak, a faith entirely "sufistic" for it was great Nanak who declared, 'Sach milia tin



Sufian — The truth was achieved by the Sufis. Guru Nanak himself reached the very end of Sind at Kranchi and later on Sind Hindus came under the great influence of the Akalis of Guru Gobind Singh, from beginning a system being in vogue the every family gave one son to the Akalis. The Hindus can well declare themselves as Akalis if need be.

### Pakistan & Karachi

While I am perturbed a great deal owing to conditions of unsafety in Sind and India I am convinced that Pakistan is impossible of achievement. Firstly as I have indicated due to the geographical and historical position of Sind. Sir S. Cripps well observed 'no body can ignore history the indications of history are clear. The design behind nature's mind working in Sind is a fusion of races not a division. I agree that this design is not an isolated exclusive national India not a mere Bharat Varsha but a broad based world wide Arya Vart the co-operative common wealth of the Arya people of the world dedicated to humanity of which Islam which is Pak or pure says 'Humanity is one family' (Luran) my own view is that the geographical position of Sind in general and the port of Karachi in particular makes Pakistan impossible. Karachi is not merely a port of Sind but of the Punjab and the whole of North India. The Great Alexander had his eyes on Deval port the predecessor of present Karachi had he been able to establish his foot here he and his army would not have floundered in Makran. The Russian Czars—and the present Soviet—have had their eye on Karachi and I am giving no secret away when I say that Karachi is looming large in the present negotiations all round. It was here in Karachi that Hitler and Tojo had to meet after the proposed conquest of Aden which the Germans came perilously near. Thank heavens they vanished into thin air. I assert that the present position of Karachi which has been big naval centre and is an aerial capital of the world cannot singly be defended even by the British without the utter co-operation of America and other countries. The paw of the Russian Bear is ominously stretching itself after Persia the next jumping ground being India via Karachi. If that is the position to-day it is clear that even the National Government of India will have to enter into a self defence treaty how is it possible for Pakistan to control the coast of Karachi which stretches far into the Mediterranean? The whole thing is absurd. It may be we may have to pass through some sort of trouble but the ultimates are clear.

I am approaching the "Pakistan" problem from purely the above strategic position. India may for instance be divided in or splitted in its leg and a wooden apparatus may be substituted but dividing it in Sind and Frontier areas is cutting its very "throat". I have stood at Clifton, the cliff of Karachi Port. I have watched at Attock from where the Sindhu flows in Sind, and I have also stood gazing towards the Khyber Pass! It is easy for those who have not watched the frontiers of the North to talk of self-determination. Even for Districts, but those who know the position as the Premier of the Frontier, cannot glibly exercise their tongue or loosely drive their pen. It is all a question of safety for all, for Muslims and Hindus alike, and does not "safety" mean literally 'Islam' the truly "Pak"? I humbly suggest to the Cabinet Mission to please come to Sind, as earnestly as Khan Sahib has invited them to Peshawar, and I also suggest to the Congress and the League to pitch there tents in Karachi and negotiate. The Karachi climate is any day better than that of Delhi. I am quite sure Sind will supply a tremendous material for study for solving the question of Pakistan. I am an optimist, and belong to a group of Sindhis who did not shrink from joining in demanding the separation of Sind and Mr. Jinnah knows this. I still hope that Sind will, some how, some way, and some day solve the problem of India.

# NATIONAL FREEDOM & PAKISTAN\*

By Dr Syud Hossain

I have been anxious to come to India for some time—as far back as October last—but travelling was not easy and not possible because of priorities and technical difficulties. I wanted to see what the situation here was at this critical time from all angles and naturally I am extremely interested in the cause of India and being here I shall consult those whose judgment I respect. I shall also try to give them a few hints and information how India is looked upon by outsiders. India's freedom is not a national or domestic problem but it is a world problem.

By the same token people here ought to know that what they say and do are scrutinised all over the world. There is unfortunately a tendency in this country to treat the issue of India's freedom as a parochial question. It is a fallacy that outside world has nothing to do with India. India is a great country with a population of 400 million—one fifth of the population of the world—and in the interest of peace of the world other countries cannot be indifferent to the problem of such a great country. The world is therefore interested not only in the Indian problem but also in its issue. In the circumstances my first object is to tell my people what the world thinks of the problem—

In my opinion the only issue at present is the issue of India's national freedom—the first and the outstanding problem—every other issue is subordinate to it and must be treated as a secondary issue. Now that issue of national freedom is one of the freedom of India from British control and domination. The world is interested in the problem of India versus Britain. The outside world is not interested in our domestic, communal, and sectarian fights and squabbles. The world has no time or patience to know these petty quarrels. The Americans are for example interested in the wider problem of India's freedom and not of internal quarrels.

Until that big problem is solved we cannot handle and deal with other innumerable questions which cannot be tackled by a national sovereign government. Take for such problems

as education, industrialisation, health, etc. In this day of scientific advance how can a nation having 93 per cent of illiteracy, function? To tackle the problems of illiteracy and economic destitution planning is needed, which cannot be achieved without a national government. I am not talking of the last or the impending famine, but as a normal situation the overwhelming majority of Indians are living on the border line of destitution. It is not a joke. Even if freedom is won, India cannot find her place in the comity of nations without solving these problems. These problems cannot be side-tracked, therefore, you cannot afford to have this gigantic problem of India's freedom absent from your mind even for a moment. You see, if you come to think of it, it is a kind of vicious circle. There are thousands of angles to the problem such as social reform which have got to be solved before India takes her rightful place among other nations. The first essential of our whole future and the present well being is to secure national independence at once. I say these things to bring home to you the urgency and primacy of the problem of national independence. Any preventible delay on our side in achieving that independence should be avoided.

Time alone will show whether the British will live up conscientiously, to their professions. Whether the present Cabinet mission will only prove to be the Cripps offer, or the Simla conference of Lord Wavell, remains to be seen. Those who detract or misrepresent our country do serious injury to the dignity of India and create conditions of playing into the hands of the British, giving them a chance of procrastination; and from the point of statesmanship it is a poor strategy.

I do not know of any section in India, said Dr. Syud Hossain reminding one of his old burning zeal in the non-co-operation days of 1919-20, that is not committed to the goal of national independence. There is complete unanimity about the goal.

Then, the matters of internal adjustments such as ratios, votes, public offices of administration, and the administrative composition are matters of detail which can be, and should be settled by amicable and honourable understanding. Other countries like Egypt have settled their minority problems. In Syria, in Indonesia and in Persia there are minorities, which are finding an honourable place in the governance of their country, in San Francisco and elsewhere. If this is possible elsewhere, why should India which has an older tradition and culture have this ridiculous situation?"

Every thing modern—language, music, literature and drama—is the joint product of Hindus and Muslims alike. If others have solved the problem of national unity why cannot we? It can be and should be done only by means of serious thinking. If any Indian does not subscribe to the concept of national unity he is anti patriotic, dishonest and contemptible.

Remember the word patriotism is derived from the French word patria which mean motherland. If you are a patriot your first allegiance is to the country and not to your religion. After getting your independence all energies must be put to constructive effort. Ninety per cent of our energy at present is blocked up in fighting for our independence.

We have some of the finest types of intellectuals. With the exception of Britain and the United States we have probably many more Nobel Prize winners in India than elsewhere. With out any opportunities such as were available in Britain and America we have shown what we can achieve given a fair chance in the world. We have shown the potentiality of taking our place amongst the top most nations of the world. But all this is frustrated and spent in a negative sense. Those are the sort of things we should worry about.

Reminding the journalists that they had a great responsibility in this matter Dr Syud Hossain reminded them of Napoleon's saying journalists are mentors of the Nation. You should not sell your talents for minor things.

Concluding his statement Dr Syud Hossain said I feel keenly and strongly on this subject. I think that every hour that is delayed in the achievement of our complete national freedom is an act of suicidal folly. It is a disservice to my country, to my people and prolonging the bondage. I cannot conceive of any thing more criminal than the holding up of the progress of my country and people. I want this question to be settled honourably as early as possible. Why should not public opinion be mobilised to force that issue?

After the statement Dr Syud Hossain answered a number of questions put to him.

**Question** Will a free India be able to defend herself in a world of power politics?

**Answer** This is a hypothetical question. The probability is not existent. After the last war only two strong powers have

emerged—the United States and Russia. Britain is not strong enough economically, although she is still a great country. Now the United States has not the remotest idea of attacking India. Russia's hands are full. Britain is already in occupation of the country. Therefore, the question is not relevant to the situation in India.

Dr. Hossain was asked to give his views on Pandit Nehru's proposal for an Asiatic bloc, especially in view of the colour war which is apprehended in certain quarters. Dr. Syud Hossain stated that the idea of a colour war is far fetched one. The tendency in the world today is towards international co-operation. Modern science has brought all nations together. All frontiers between countries have been liquidated before the modern armaments. Therefore there is an inevitable necessity for nations to co-operate. With the advance of commerce and industry you have to create conditions of international co-operation. Old conceptions of production, distribution are outmoded. There is a definite move for co-operation, collaboration and elimination of cut-throat competition. It is in our interest to adapt ourselves to these international trends. Moreover, an Asiatic bloc is not necessarily antagonistic to the above trends. In America there are several nations bound together by ties of mutual friendship, and they are members of the United Nations. In the middle East, the Muslim countries of Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Persia are bound by the Saadabad Pact, and yet they are members of the United Nations. Therefore India can well enter into pacts with China and other neighbours and still continue to be a member of the United Nations."

Question "How do you propose to set up a machinery for achieving national unity?"

Answer "The urgent problem of the country is to secure independence. Therefore mobilise public opinion in its favour thereby strengthening the hands of those who fight for India's freedom. We have to build our own strength by serious thinking. We should magnify the common points of unity and minimise our difference. Unfortunately there is a tendency I have noticed among our politicians to use vituperative language as a pastime. This is injurious to our cause and harms the dignity of our country outside."

Dr. Syud Hossain's attention was drawn to the recent campaign of hate and to the talk of civil war if Pakistan was not granted. The distinguished visitor observed that Indians seemed

to be hypnotised by Mr Jinnah's statements. Defining what a civil war was Dr Hossain said that no civil war was possible so long as the Hindus and Muslims had no weapons to fight their battles to a decisive end. He felt that the communal trouble in the country had become chronic as it was not properly handled in its initial stages. It could only be solved by patience and perseverance.

### Speech at Swaraj House London\*

Our problem is not a domestic or private one. So we must be careful not to do anything that will discredit us in the eyes of the world. The transcending issue is the issue of India versus Britain. So far as the outside world is concerned it is not concerned with our inter-communal or inter-provincial feuds rivalries or jealousies. For the rest of the world the issue is India versus Britain. That issue has many aspects—political economic racial and social but above and beyond those aspects we have a moral issue namely what right England has to be in India at all? That issue cannot be sidetracked or whitewashed by any jargons or dialectic.

Of course England has no moral right to be in India at all. So long that moral issue is not resolved there cannot be peace in India. We have frankly speaking no peace in India. What we see is peace superimposed by the military. That is not real peace but the peace of the graveyard. For the first time in her entire history Britain's Prime Minister has actually conceded in so many words India's right to be independent. This was never done before so categorically. We have now to concentrate on that issue continuation of alien rule on the Indian Ocean is a standing insult to the manhood and womanhood of every son and daughter of India. Don't make a mistake about it. You may be a Parsee Christian Hindu Mussalman or Sikh. You can never be anything else except a slave so long you accept alien domination of any kind. We have unfortunately and inevitably developed certain habits characteristic of a mentality which is known as the slave mentality. It could not be otherwise when you are under a superimposed foreign domination. Under this domination we do not stand in the world as free men and women.

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Report of a speech delivered at Swaraj House London on March 26 before his leaving for India.

There is always a difference between the psychology of free men and women and those of unfree men and women. Those who live under a foreign domination become demoralised. The slave gradually begins to like his fetters. He begins to reconcile himself to his lot.

But thanks to a few men amongst us—a few leaders—who rose with a vision, character and capacity for tremendous sacrifices,—such men are advance guards and liberators of the minds and soul of the countrymen—the slave nation is about to be liberated from foreign bondage. But there are many handicaps, and we have to eliminate them before the country is freed. You hear England is giving independence or being asked to give independence. This is absurd. The whole conception is wrong and unreal. Freedom is not a gift of anybody. Freedom is the birthright of every man, woman and child. Where this freedom does not exist, it means these men, women and children are robbed of their freedom and what is wanted is the restitution not a gift of freedom.

Of course I have not any doubt we are getting along to our goal, but we are called upon to face a battle, so to say, on two fronts. One is our battle with Britain on the political front with the manipulations of strategy remaining in the hands of the imperial power. Then we have to fight on our internal front. We have to fight corruption and demoralisation amongst our own countrymen.

In this great movement of liberation we need tremendous clarity of thought. We need a search of our hearts. We need to cleanse our own souls so that we may approach the main cause with clean hands. This cause has got to do with the liberation of a people who are described as the pioneers of civilization. This is not an overstatement of historical facts. We are descendants of those who created a pattern of civilisation.

But to-day even to sustain our heritage we are in a pitiable situation. We must therefore, approach the task with the maximum of integrity, petty problems, jealousies, and rivalries do not belong to the pattern of India's liberation. They are completely irrelevant. If we achieve that, the attainment of our final goal cannot possibly be delayed. Certainly it is perfectly right and natural that we should have difference because only in the graveyard you will not find any disagreement. There is not any other way of arriving at the truth, if we have no



differeoces But they resolved only by our integrity Even if we have ideological differences we must work the pattern of coherent thought and reach a solution There is at present in India a great deal of confusion which is not permissible for men and women who claim to be educated and intelligent

For instance a great discussion is going on in India about nationality I ask you what is nationality? The term is used in the Indian discussion inter changingly with race or religion But natiooality has nothing to do with either There is not rhyme or reason for muddling up the term so misconceived and misleading Nationality for ao individual connotes merely wherein he or she is born By birth and residence we have a comunity of interest—because we live there and our economic intrests are identical This has nothing to do with the faith we profess or the race where to we belong There is utter cofusion on both Hindu aod Moslem sides Our Indian nationality comes in, because we are born in India The same applies to nationals of other countries So why should we of all people depart from this civilized test? When India will be free her every daughter and son will vote as a citizen of India not as Hindu or a Mussalman India has been a great pioneer in religions It is rather a tragic irony that the descendants of those who gave the formulations of religious have reached so great a depth of degradation The only use that have for religion to day is to use it as so many brickbats to be we flung at each other instead of living upto its higher standards of principles and better inspirations

# PANDIT NEHRU'S DECLARATION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a spirited declaration against Pakistan on April 5 "The Congress is not going to agree to the League demand for Pakistan under any circumstances, whatsoever—even if the British Government agrees to it," he said in answer to a number of questions put to him at a press conference held at Delhi "It is not even the question of the Congress agreeing or not I know something of the Indian people If the Congress agrees to the demand even then it will not come off Nothing on earth, not even the U N O, is going to bring about Pakistan that Mr Jinnah wants Large areas which Mr Jinnah claims as Pakistan are so fundamentally and determinedly opposed to Pakistan that you cannot compel them, whatever the Muslim League or others intend to do in that matter."

Pandit Nehru reiterated that particular areas which wanted to part company could not be compelled to remain As a matter of fact if you examine Pakistan in that limited and restricted aspect it becomes so difficult of constitution as a state that it is almost inconceivable.

A correspondent pointed out that what worried Master Tara Singh was whether Congress would under any circumstances agree to the League demand for Pakistan

Pandit Nehru indignantly declared that he had reiterated the Congress stand on many occasions He went on to assert once again that under no circumstances would the Congress agree to Pakistan That is dead clear

Answering an earlier question about provinces which did not join the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that the force of circumstances would be such as to bring them into the Constituent Assembly. But during the intervening period, if India was functioning as an independent entity, those provinces would be autonomous units but under the suzerainty of the Central Authority.

Question Supposing those provinces declare their independence and start building up an armed force ?

Ans If any part starts arming against us, superior arms will prevail.

Referring to Indian Princes Pandit Nehru said he was glad that some of them had taken up more or less an attitude which might be summed up as Let there be independence immediately including withdrawal of the British army and we shall solve our problems among ourselves That is a dignified attitude for any Indian whatever his party views may be and that is the only real attitude because ultimately there can be no doubt that problems will be solved by the Indian people themselves and by no outside authority

Redistribution of provincial boundaries was essential and inevitable he said because we wanted provinces which were autonomous unit culturally and linguistically as far as possible He wanted such cultural and linguistic unit to grow up with a sense of freedom and without a sense of compulsion I want not only provincial autonomy but if necessary within the province smaller semi-autonomous area Take the Sikhs for instance If they desire to function as such a unit I should like them to have a semi autonomous area within the province so that they may have a sense of freedom Economically they will be a part of the province

Pandit Nehru agreed with a correspondent's suggestion that the present negotiations with the Cabinet Mission ought not to cover any other subject except immediate transfer of power

An Indian State joining the federation he went on in reply to a further question will be an equal unit of the federation having the same responsibilities privileges and obligations as any other unit Every state would of course have to keep up to the level of administration and democratic liberty in the rest of India It might be that the exact form might slightly vary but it was impossible to conceive of varying levels of feudalism and democracy in different States forming part of the federation

Difficult problems in India Pandit Nehru said were not so much those about which people talked and got heated such as Pakistan although these were there But the primary problem of India is the economic problem solving as far as we can the problem of poverty and raising the standard of living I say the economic problem is the essential problem That does not mean it is the first problem because the economic problem cannot be tackled before the political problem is solved

Thus the figure of 400 million was all wrong said Pandit Nehru Apart from that even assuming this figure was correct

India was less densely populated than most of Europe, and there were in India large areas which could be cultivated and populated with state assistance. Further, a population might be too great for an agricultural country but might not be great at all if the country was industrialised. It depended on what the country was and what avenues of production existed. If every man was a worker he was an asset. But nevertheless planned society was essential in India and he realised it was desirable to prevent population increase and to take measures to that end.

"I should like every person and every political party to put forward its views and demands in relation to this real economic problem of India, because if it is not so related, then those views and demands are unreal and superficial. I should like to consider the problem of Pakistan from the point of view of this economic problem, from the point of view of defence and of international affairs.

"I am quite convinced," he went on, "that with independence recognised and being given effect to, and the resolution of all problems definitely in the hands of Indians, whatever the consequences, we shall solve all the problems that face us, such as Pakistan, or the Indian States.

"Independence is not a thing which can be left over to the Constituent Assembly, because then it means really anything is decided and everything is in a chaotic state," Pandit Nehru said.

The Constituent Assembly would decide India's relation with Britain and other nations. Inevitably, we have a large number of matters to consider—relations with Britain and they should be considered by the representatives of the Constituent Assembly and those of the British Government later on in that context of independence.

"It will be open to us to have close and friendly relations, economic and other with Britain. That will depend on the national interests of the parties concerned. Obviously an independent India will make her own friends wherever she likes. Obviously, also every country thinks primarily of its own interests and its foreign policy is determined by those interests though I hope that in an independent India the idealism which has governed our nationalist movement will continue to govern our international relations."